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AUTHOR Jayasuriya, Laksiri
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ABSTRACT

This publication contains two papers that describe Australian immigration policies, ethnic relations, and multicultural educational practices. Australia contains people from over 100 countries who speak approximately 50 different languages. The first paper, "Immigration Policies and Ethnic Relations in Australia," presents a historical overview of Australian immigration policy, considers recent developments in settlement policy, and describes immigration and settlement in terms of British influences, early non-British settlement, and the meaning of Anglo-conformity. A section on post-1945 immigration reviews: (1) new intake policies and practices; (2) a changing demographic profile and social composition; and (3) the social and economic impact of new policies. Australia's recent development from an Anglo-society to one that is multicultural and in the process of uniting to form an Australian identity is described. The second paper, "Australian Multicultural Education in a Comparative Perspective," compares selected multicultural education classification systems in relation to the historical development and current status of Australia's national education policies and describes recent developments, future projections, and issues. Tables and references are included. (JHP)

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IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN AUSTRALIA

AND

AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

PROF. LAKSIRI JAYASURIYA

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION
THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Immigration Policies and Ethnic Relations in Australia

and

Australian Multicultural Education in a Comparative Perspective

by

Prof. Laksiri Jayasuriya
Dept. of Social Work and Social Administration
University of Western Australia
Perth

Papers for conference

Canada 2000 - Race Relations

Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada

October 1987

Preface

This Occasional Paper contains two invited Addresses given at the " Canada 2000 " Conference on Race Relations and Public Policy held at Carleton University,Ottawa,Canada in October 1987. The first Paper Presents a historical overview of Australian immigration policy and in particular considers recent developments in settlement policy. The second Paper is devoted to a brief survey of Australian Multicultural Education within a comparative framework. Both Papers have been written as presentations to a foreign audience. Therefore,this may contain material already familiar to Australian readers and would normally be taken for granted.

I wish to acknowledge the editorial assistance of Dr Anna Alderson with both Papers and in particular her valuable contribution in relation to the Paper on Multicultural Education. My thanks also to Chris and Betty Lin of Desktop Computer Systems,Nedlands for assistance with the Printing.

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Laksiri Jayasuriya

Immigration Policies and Ethnic Relations in Australia

Prof. Laksiri Jayasuriya
University of Western Australia
Nedlands, 6009, W.A.
Australia

Paper For Conference

CANADA 2000 - RACE RELATIONS

Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada

Perth
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IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN AUSTRALIA

I. INTRODUCTION

Present day Australia, barely 200 years old, is often portrayed as a "multicultural society", a mosaic of diverse peoples, or a "polyethnic" society. Demographically, it is made up of diverse groups of people drawn from more than 100 countries and speaking some 50 languages including indigenous settlers, the Aboriginal people. Consequently, "ethnic relations", understood as inter-group relations pertaining to racial, ethnic and cultural diversity, is a central feature of contemporary Australian society. This is all the more critical because of the challenges and new demands Australian society will have to encounter as it enters a new phase of its existence as an independent and sovereign nation following the bicentenary celebrations in 1988.

Ethnic relations as examined in this paper refer only to those arising from the processes of immigration, and largely concern those groups classified as "ethnic groups" in the sense used by Milton Gordon as referring to any group differentiated from others by attributes of race, religion or nationality, or any combination of these characteristics.

By confining our attention here to ethnic relations that have arisen in the context of migration, we exclude consideration of the indigenous ethnic groups, i.e. the relations that have governed dealings with Aboriginal people. In doing so we need to recognize at the outset that Australia's history dates back to over 300,000 years. Long before the founding of Australia as part of the British colonial empire, it is believed that the country's earliest inhabitants, the ancestors of the present day Aboriginal people arrived from the Asian continent via the Indonesian archipelago in a series of waves.

In considering the overall patterns and dynamics of inter-group ethnic relations, one aspect stands out clearly. From the earliest days group relations in Australian society have been handled differently with respect to the indigenous people and "new settlers". Settler-native (Aboriginal) relations from the outset have been marked by a policy of social exclusion, heavily laden by coercive control of Aboriginal people are exemplified in the alienation of their rights to land and restricted access to resources. Aboriginal peoples in Australia, contrary to the experience of indigenous groups in what we shall describe later as, "anglo-fragment" societies such as Canada, have remained powerless, politically disenfranchised, economically deprived and the victims of oppression and discrimination. Since the 1970s various efforts have been made by goverement to redress this situation. However, while this alienation persists, there is amongst Aboriginal people, a great sense of the injustice inflicted upon them; and their sense

of outrage continues to bedevil the political and social landscape.

One of the many regrettable consequences of these policies and social attitudes, and one of special interest to us, is the lukewarm, if not necessarily anatagonistic, relations that have arisen throughout Australia's history and still continue to exist between Aboriginal people as a whole and immigrant groups. It is an episode of Australian history that has still to be documented, clarified and rectified for it is fraught with the potential for causing great harm and disruption. Regrettably, we do not consider this and related issues in this Paper.

To understand the dynamics and evolving nature of contemporary ethnic relations, in a historical perspective, we need to view them as phenomenona constrained and influenced by social, political and economic forces. Ethnic relations are intimately linked with immigration; hence the need to recognize the importance of immigration policies and practices in the development of ethnic relations. A basic assumption underlying this Paper concerns the "centrality of migration" in the unfolding of an Australian sense of identity.

Immigration has been, as Jupp rightly observes, "a constant theme in Australian history since 1788 but has often been curiously overlooked or understressed by historians" [1986: 3]. Similarly, Markus as a historian, bemoans the fact that compared with social scientists, historians have by and large shown little specialist interest in this area; and where they do show an interest there is very little empathy for the migrant point of view [1982: 95]. A notable exception to this is Wilton and Bosworth's study of post-war migrant experience entitled *Old Worlds and New Australians* [Penguin 1985].

Immigrants and their offspring, be they second or third generations of migrant origin, constitute today nearly two-fifths of the Australian population, and account for just over half the population growth since 1945. Immigrants [defined as any persons who come with the intentions of settling] make up over 20% of the population, and of these, more than half are of non-British origin.

The only other western advanced society which has a higher concentration of foreign born is Israel. Most other advanced western countries, except Canada which has a slightly lower percentage than Australia, have a lesser proportion of foreign-born settlers than Australia. What is more, the flow and rate of immigrant expansion during the post World War II period in Australia surpasses the rate of growth in the United States in the early decades of this century. Indeed, for these reasons alone, this cultural and social diversity and its reciprocal impact on Australian society, warrants careful and critical consideration. The future of "ethnic relations" in Australian society over the next few decades will depend largely on how society responds to, and manages the changing socio-economic and political context of this complex immigrant society.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a historical perspective on, and an overview of current developments in immigration and its impact on ethnic relations. More specifically it will trace briefly the growth of ethnic diversity and consider how Australian social institutions and government policy, in particular, have handled the rapid and massive social transformations that have recently taken place, creating a markedly diverse and plural society.

We will endeavour to portray the rhetoric and ideology of migrant settlement, and contrast this with the reality confronting and experienced by migrants themselves. This refers to the way they are acutally perceived, identified by the dominant society and sometimes become incorporated within the structures of society itself, and on other occasions to be socially excluded or marginal. Within this broad framework, a major focus will be on "multiculturalism" as a contemporary social concept, characterizing the post-World War II ideology of migrant settlement.

II. IMMIGRATION AND EARLY PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT

1. British Influences

To understand why immigration is such a dominant and persistent feature of Australian history, we first need to know who are the immigrants in Australia, from what source countries they have come, at whose behest, with what inducements, and what were their expectations and hopes in coming to this land.

These "waves" of immigration as it is sometimes aptly described, have continued ever since the arrival of the First Fleet from England in 1788, and the establishment of Australia as a distant British colony in the antipodes. The initial wave of immigration up to about 1850 was made up almost exclusively of British settlers of Anglo-Saxon and Protestant origin. At this time Australia consisted of four separate British colonies. The original settlers in these colonies were largely government sponsored and products of the system of convict transporation. As in Canada, following Porter [1975] we may regard these founding settlers as a "charter group" whose impress still continues to haunt the nation. Later, the colonies were strengthened by schemes of "bounty settlers" (i.e. those given a government bounty for each settler) and assisted migration encouraged by the Imperial government so as to alleviate pauperism in Britain, and strengthen the population of the colonial settlements. Free settlers and voluntary migration in general, made up a relatively small proportion of migrants in this early period. However, the use of non-European "coloured" workers was to become a major and controversial issue in the colonies' immigration policy in the later part of the 19th century.

A fundamental characteristic of Australian immigration policy is that it has always been "a migration of settlement" [Wilton & Bosworth, 1984], unlike in some other countries as for example the guest worker policies in Western Europe. An early indication of the settlement implications of immigration policy was that even in the very early days, there were differences amongst immigrants, especially the Irish and other British immigrants, despite the apparent social and cultural homogeneity. Subsequently there were also differences between the Australian-born and new settlers from the "home" country. Both differences were to be significant in the evolving pattern of inter-group relations.

One of the earliest "ethnic" groups was the Irish settlers. These Irish immigrants who were predominantly Roman Catholics and drawn mainly from the working class, settled in substantial numbers throughout the 19th century and formed a specific "ethno-religious" group with a distinctive "life style". As Irish immigration increased, inter-group conflicts emerged in the form of religious prejudices and hostility inherited from the home country. These tensions extended to the early 20th century, and, the manner in which they were handled, determined to a large extent the "ground rules" for dealing with and managing "ethnic relations" that were to arise with other groups.

The charter group of settlers, as the dominant group in the colonies, prescribed the criteria and basis for the "inclusion", and "exclusion" of other groups such as the Irish Catholics. The latter in fact had to struggle hard to gain acceptance by the charter group to preserve their distinctive identity as an "ethnic religious" group, while at the same time participating fully in the institutional life of the colonies.

It is important to note that the Irish overcame their "ethnic exclusion" and gained legitimacy for themselves as a group in society largely by entering the political arena. As Geoffrey Sherington rightly comments, "many Catholics sought to find their identity through the medium of the Labor Party" [1980: 86]. Their success in doing so was very much due to the close association of anti-Labor groups - the Protestant groups, the gentry and the charter groups.

The process of accommodation and modes of incorporation that emerged in this first inter-group encounter are instructive because we are perhaps witnessing their re-enactment, albeit in a modified manner, with groups quite dissimilar to the Irish Catholics. In the latter half of the 20th century this may be true of particular Southern European migrant communities, such as the increasingly well-organized, powerful and politically militant group of Australian Greeks who may be seeking mainstream incorporation through political participation.

This association of the Irish Catholics with mainstream political parties meant that they were now "assimilated" into mainstream institutions. In turn this signalled an accommodation on the part of the dominant groups in society to the political demands of Catholic groups such

as their right to maintain separate educational institutions with State support. Interestingly, modern day Greek communities too are making similar demands. Clearly, it was the link of the Irish with the Labor Party that enabled them to maintain effectively a system of educational segregation whereby private religious denominational schools were sustained by Goverment funding and legislative support. For the Irish this has in the long run proved to be their road to greater mobility and a means of gaining access to the power structures in society.

2. Early Non-British Settlement

From the point of view of the developing Australian pattern of ethnic relations, immigration during the latter half of the 19th century was also significant in the development of characteristic "in-group/out-group" attitude involving the charter groups as the dominant "in group". Thus, we see the beginnings of deep-seated social attitudes, ethnic and racial towards non-British groups of immigrants, first towards European groups and later to non-Caucasians, with the earliest manifestation of conflict and tension in ethnic relations.

It is as well to remember that, although non-British European immigration played only a relatively minor role during the 19th and early 20th centuries, it was extremely influential in determining the future pattern and code of ethnic relations in later years. It was a code which prescribed how to deal with alien settlers who did not necessarily share the same social and cultural attitudes of the host society. The ground rules of assimilationism, the imperative of "Anglo-conformity" and the strong pressures to maintain a homogeneous and monocultural society are evident in these early encounters between the charter groups and other immigrant groups.

The earliest groups of non-British European settlers of the 19th century were mostly German and Scandinavians. One of the earliest groups were German Protestant Lutherans, who fleeing from the religious persecution of the Prussia of Fredrick William III, sought refuge in South Ausralia. These German settlers with their strong religious and family ties were like the Irish Catholic settlers in that they too were eager to preserve their closely knit group ties and their cultural and religious characteristics - in other words, their "ethnic identity" and distinctiveness. Unlike other more scattered European groups who showed a greater willingness to accommodate themselves to the new society, these early German settlers resisted incorporation into the structures of mainstream colonial society. They continued throughout the latter 19th century and up to World War II to function as a relatively closed community.

As Burnley [1976] states, these German communities existed as "formal group

settlements", enjoying a fair degree of acceptance to live outside of mainstream society. The degree of tolerance accorded to them is evident in the existence of their own German language/ bilingual schools in South Australia. These were disestablished only because of the anti-German feeling in World War I. This was perhaps the earliest manifestation of an "experiment" in cultural and linguistic pluralism, and a forerunner of later and more extensive similar "experiments" in Australian society during the recent past, which still remain uncertain and tentative as they were with the German Lutheran groups.

Other non-British European settlers such as the small groups of Scandinavians, Poles, and Hungarians were either free settlers or those who came on assisted passages. They came primarily in search for better economic conditions for themselves and their families, but also in response to the labour market needs of the growing Australian pastoral economy and other agricultural developments such as the sugar cane industry in Queensland. These smaller and more scattered rural groups made little or no attempt to establish themselves with a separate identity.

The veteran demographer Borrie, explains the rapid assimilation of the Scandinavians in terms of the absence of family migration and their willingness to marry into other "Australian" groups. The latter meant that their "ethnic" boundaries became tenuous and fluid, and as a result,their second and third generation offspring appear to have lost their sense of ethnic origin. It is still a moot question as to whether Nansen's Law of third generation searching for roots will apply in the Australian scene. M. Liffman [1983] has correctly observed that there is no reason to suppose that Australia will follow the same path of ethnic group evolution as depicted in Nansen's Law in the USA.

An exception to the Scandinavian pattern was the sizeable number of European and Jewish settlers, largely German, who came as "free settlers" from the 19th century on, but mainly during the inter-War period in the 20th century. They generally settled in inner-city suburbs as distinct communities. Their social posititon - one of relative affluence and high occupational status - has enabled them to gain acceptance, while retaining their ethno-religious identity.

The Italian and Greek immigrants who came during the late 19th and and early part of the 20th century indicate a settlement trend somewhat different to that of the "Nordic" settlers from Germany and Scandinavia. These first Greek migrants to Australia were highly urbanized and were mainly engaged in service and business occupations in the expanding cities of Australia. These early Greek immigrants were culturally and socially segregated, frequently bilingual, yet not completely isolated from the wider community. However, as a relatively small minority community, the children of these early Greek settlers, were according to Borrie,

essentially "Australian in outlook" [1955: 99], and became less Greek in their outlook over time. Interestingly, Borrie also comments that "Australians at large have seldom shown any overt antipathy to Greek settlers" largely, he says, because they did not pursue "occupations which brought them into competition with organized labour" [1955: 98].

The latter certainly was not true of the Italian settlers of this period. They were mainly labourers and artisans who were attracted by the Victorian Gold Rush, other mining occupations, fishing and wine industries. Unlike the Greeks, the Italian settlers never "formed a cross-section of the occupational distribution of the Australian population" [Borrie, 1955: 102]. They tended to be occupationally segregated as in the sugar cane industry market gardening or the fishing industry.

The high degree of "closure" associated with this pattern of occupational differentiation generated some hostility and exclusion by Australian groups. The intensity of rejection and isolation experienced by of the Italian groups compared with other European groups can be attributed to their economic competition with Australian workers. In extreme instances this competition led to allegations of cheap scab labour and strike breaking, and even the occurrence of ethnic hostility and violence as in Kalgoorlie in Western Australia in 1934. Despite such instances of group hostility, these incidents tended to be isolated and were contained; and many Southern European groups were able to settle permanently in Australia without such experiences. It was their offspring who laid the foundation for the later waves of massive Southern European migration that took place in the 1950s and 1960s.

Although the beginnings of Australian racism lie primarily in the racial antagonism towards the Aboriginal people, Australian encounters with Southern European groups firmly sowed the seeds of nationalism. Intolerance of the culturally alien, ethnic prejudice and discrimination became ingrained as a part of the Australian social and cultural ethos during this formative period of Australian history. Incidentally, these early manifestations of racism, it should be noted were by no means a purely working class phenomenon, as is often portrayed in the general literature. According to Verity Burgmann,

> the working class, [was] undeniably racist, (but) any account of Australian racism, past or present, that in my way exonerates the middle class is not only dishonest or inaccurate but deficient in its understandings of the dynamics of racial prejudice. [1984: 260].

It was however, non-European migration and settlement in the 19th and 20th centuries, beginning with early forms of imported and indentured labour from the Pacific, the Melanesian (Kanaks) labour and Indians, and later the more substantial Chinese intakes of labour in the 1850s that proved to be more crucial in the development of Australian racism and ethnic intolerance. Charles Price expresses this vividly and accurately when he writes that the "Chinese were the anvil on which the new young societies were strongly hammering out their

national identity" [1974].

Undoubtedly, the arrival of large numbers of Chinese during the 1850s to work in the gold mines of Victoria has had a profound and lasting effect on the course of Australian history, let alone its impact on ethnic relations. Unlike other non-Australian settlers, the Chinese were different in several respects, physically, culturally and socially. They were different in skin colour, physical appearance and customs, and above all they posed a serious economic threat to Australian workers by their number as well as well as their diligence and capacity for hard work. All these characteristics caused these groups to be feared, distrusted and rejected often with considerable hostility.

Economic factors were paramount in this developing racism. The Chinese immigrants of the mid 19th century, unlike other groups of settlers, came in substantial numbers, as sojourners, a form of imported labour akin to the "guest workers" in Europe and latterly in the Middle East. In fact, the majority of these had come on a "credit ticket'" system of labour entrepeneurs. But it was the sheer size of Chinese immigration in the 19th century that was most evident and alarming to the native settlers. At one time the Chinese accounted for nearly 8% of Victoria's population, and about 20% of men in the colony. This fact along with their productivity was economically threatening to the Australians and laid the foundations of deep-seated fears and anxieties.

The race riots of 1857 at Buckland River, Victoria, against a Chinese camp was a landmark event in the history of Australian racism, which it has been argued, was an expression of "racial arrogance that became a model for white protest against coloured immigration" [Yarwood & Knowling, 1982: 162]. Certainly it was an early indication of the doctrine of "White Australia" that was to be framed in Statute at the time of the founding of the Federation in 1901.

The mounting anti-Chinese sentiment culminated in the passing of restrictive legislation against the importation of Asian and Chinese labour. However, it would be wrong to conclude that it was just economic competition, or the threat to living standards, British institutions and accepted social practices that evoked the racism of the Australians against the Chinese. Importantly, it was also the apparent threat to racial purity, fuelled by stories of illicit sexual relations between Chinese men (the Chinese settlers were disproportionately male) and white women, that provoked the fear of miscegenation. In fact this was considered to be far more dangerous than the contact of white men with Aboriginal women.

The threat to the white man's supremacy, the British heritage and the British "race" were forcefully expressed by Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales in his famous policy speech of 1888. This encapsulates up the fears and aspirations of 'White' Australia and the

emergent strident Australian nationalism:

> I contend that if this young nation is to maintain the fabric of its liberties unassailed and unimpaired, it cannot admit into its population any element that of necessity must be of an inferior nature and character....we should not encourage or admit amongst us any class of persons whatever whom we are not prepared to advance to all our franchises, to all our privileges as citizens, and all our social rights, including the right of marriage. [Quoted in Yarwood & Knowling, 1982: 187].

The great fear of the "teeming millions of China", the "yellow peril" had been firmly inscribed in the Australian psyche. It was this fear and expressions of nationalist fervour and sentiment that culminated in the *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901 decreeing that non-whites were not welcome as permanent settlers. According to, *The Bulletin*, a leading media exponent of the emergent Australian nationalism and strong Imperial sentiment, this policy of blatant and unbridled racism was vindicated on the following grounds:

> It is impossible to have a large coloured alien population in the midst of a white population without a half-caste population growing up between the two. India proves that; would prove it much more conclusively only the white population isn't large enough to be a very extensive parent to the Eurasian mongrel. Spanish and Portuguese America show it. The United States show it. Queensland [by importing Pacific Island labour] shows it already to an alarming extent. And Australia thinks highly enough of its British and Irish descent to keep the race pure. [From the Bulletin 1901, quoted in Sherington 1980: 91].

The notorious dictation test associated with the implementation of the Act in 1902 characterizes the racism of the "White Australia" policy which lingers on despite the formal abbrogation of the Act in 1972. This policy especially as it was enshrined in 1901 at the time of the establishment of the Federation [an amalgam of the four previously independent British colonies] in 1901 was an important force in the generation of the Australian nation-state and its growing sense of national identity. It acquired in folk culture the sanctity of one of two "sacred cows" of Australian history and Australian capitalism - the arbitration system and the White Australia policy. The former provided "fair wages" and other ensured a tight labour market. Both policies were integral to the construction of the institutional framework of post-Federation Australia[1]. However, the Act of 1901 remains unsurpassed as the single most important government policy decision in the field of Australian ethnic relations. The manifest and latent effects of this on the wider society will continue to be felt for a long time to come.

3. Consolidating Anglo-Dominance

Reflecting on experiences which have influenced evolving ethnic group relations in Australia, what is of interest to note is that, immigration from these earliest days was : (a) critical for the demand and supply of labour; (b) primarily a question of British settlement with a distinct preference for British settlers; (c) an aspect of public policy to be controlled and

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1. See Castles [1982] and Macintyre [1986] for an elaboration of this view point.

regulated by well-defined policies of recruitment and settlement; and (d) dictated by the need to maintain supremacy of British settlers in a monocultural society.

The preferred pattern of recruitment of settlers from the "home" country, has continued into the later half of the 20th century, the only difference being that the proportion of British migrants has decreased.

Australia, eager to increase the size of its work force in a rapidly expanding and developing society, until recent times looked to the "home" country for new settlers. In fact this was no easy task because in the early days, Australia had to compete with the attraction and popularity of the North American countries as a preferred destination of British and European migrants. Hence, the need to offer attractive inducements resulted in projects such as the assisted passage schemes to offset the disadvantage of distance for prospective settlers. The origins of this policy also lie partly in British government colonial policy, no where better reflected than in the *Empire Settlement Act of 1922*, and associated schemes of migration during the Inter-War period.

Settlement policy throughout the 19th and early party of the 20th century was clear and straightforward, and closely linked to labour recruitment. Australia being part of the British colonial empire, was firmly committed to establishing by replication or some form of adaptation, the social, political and economic framework of British institutions. Such a policy of "total assimilation" or "Anglo conformity" included adherence to British legal codes, religious practices, educational institutions, political forms of government and administration. The "tyranny of distance" and geographical location of the Australian colonies made it all the more important for Australia to become a strong cohesive outpost of "white settlement", to be achieved by ensuring that new settlers were properly assimilated to the Anglo culture.

It was therefore natural that as in other similarly established new societies (e.g. USA and Canada) the evolving Australian ethos and sense of identity should be described, following L.Hartz [1964][1], as that of an "anglo-fragment" society. The "fragment" notion helps to delimit the context and boundaries within which settler - indigenous and host society-newcomer relations are fashioned and determined. In all these situations, be they French, Spanish, or English, the cultural traditions and outlook of the early settlers - the charter groups - continues to influence the nature and outcome of ethnic relations in immigrant societies. The scope and extent of this influence will vary from time to time, depending on historical, political and social pressures.

In the case of Australia as a "fragment" society it is clear that it was not just English influences, but more generally those of an Anglo-Celtic nature that have dominated the philosophy of settlement and patterns of overlordship that the host society has manifested

1. For a similar but less precise usage, see Knopfelmacher [1985] for the use of the term , "anglomorph".

towards immigrants.

As Barker explains, in anglo-fragment societies, "English cultural values and attitudes shaped settler dominant group perceptions of and attitudes towards other groups" [1983: 23]; and these have formed the essence of the ideology of settlement. Throughout the waves of immigration in Australian history, this anglo, cultural and structural hegemony characteristic of anglo-fragment societies, has been firmly ingrained and persisted over time.

"Anglo-conformity" has meant that it was considered necessary and desirable for new settlers to adopt the core culture of the Anglo-Celtic charter groups. It was this assimilationist mode of thinking that has characterized the ideology of settlement. Despite present day pressures towards a form of cultural pluralism, it still continues to influence inter-ethnic group relations, manifesting itself in subtle and complex ways.

The operation of "Anglo-Conformity" pressures is revealed in the early negative attitudes shown towards the recruitment of non-British settlers. Thus, the amending of the *Immigration Act* of 1925 to empower the Australian government to exclude "those deemed unlikely to be readily assimilable" was aimed at Southern Europeans. But these early negative attitudes towards the recruitment of non-British European settlers, have lost much force. No longer do these groups evoke the sort of derogatory comments and remarks that were used to describe Italian and Greek settlers, "dagos", "refos" etc.

However non-European settlement, despite attempts at reform, still continues to cause concern and evoke hostility. The distinctly unfavourable attitude towards Asian and non-Caucasian migrants as permanent settlers stands in sharp contrast to the benevolent paternalism expressed by the "charter groups" with respect to other migrants, especially those of European origin. Nevertheless, the shift which has occurred with these other migrant groups over time, may hold some hope and promise that attitudes to non-Caucasians too will also move in the same direction in the forseeable future, if concerted action is taken by government to ensure that these changes will take place.

Briefly, the proposition being advanced is that race and ethnic relations in anglo-fragment societies are determined by the structure of power relations. In these "fragment" societies, power structures are located disproportionately in the dominant groups who control the establishment, the media and other social institutions; and in the main reflect and espouse the ideals, values and attitudes of the charter groups of Anglo-Celtic origin.

2. New Intake Policies and Practices

The story of immigrant settlement in Australia for nearly two centuries has been one of how groups of new migrant settlers through the waves of immigration, have been received by the dominant groups, and accommodated within the structures of Australian society without undue strain . It is basically a history of highly planned and regulated immigration governed primarily by economic and political considerations. Consequently, by the skilful and controlled, yet flexible use of the instruments of the state policies and programmes group relations have been regulated and mediated, based on conceptions of settlement, such as assimilation, integration and multiculturalism and adaptation.

An overriding though not the sole determinant of this planned regulated policy of immigration we have sketched so far,has been the economic factor, foremost being the labour and manpower needs needs of a developing society. Immigration as the main "pump primer" for population growth was firmly established as a distinctive feature of the Australian scene, but is likely to be under scrutiny over the next decade or so.

In the earliest days of immigration in the first half of the 19th century, this was governed by the needs of pastoral expansion in the powerful rural sector - the sheep and wheat industry - as well as the production of other commodities such as sugar. In the latter half of the 19th century, the economic needs of the gold and mining industries as well as the needs of the growing urban centres for resources and services sustained the need for immigrant manpower. Similarly, economic considerations were to be paramount in the period of immigration following World War II.

However, what was most significant and characteristic of the traditional pattern of immigration, to quote the Australian historian Hancock [1940], was that Australia was a "vast half-occupied country overrun by invaders of British stock" seeking economic gain and material prosperity for themselves in a new and alien environment. At least until the post World War II period, the preference was for for migrants from Britain or more generally for those of British stock. As Appleyard notes:

> Being British in character as well as by allegiance and having their policies determined by British governments, the colonies inevitably built British types of institutions and favoured British immigrants. [1971: 206].

Furthermore, "the continuing feeding of British immigrants helped to keep the social and cultural patterns of Australia in a narrow groove" [Borrie, 1955: 85]. This climate of thinking was still apparent at the end of the World War II in 1945, and according to Appleyard,

"even before the war had ended, the Australian government negotiated with the British government for continuation of the assisted passage scheme favouring British migrants" [1971: 207].

Although this policy of giving preference to British migrants prevailed well into the early 50s, it was never rigidly imposed. Its flexibility, adaptability and responsiveness to extreme pressures such as the need to meet its international obligations [eg.,to the International Refugee Organization], and new internal needs was apparent when Australia agreed to accept a substantial number of "displaced persons" [DPs - refugees] from war-torn Europe, especially the Baltic countries. It was a generous and humanitarian response, but not entirely divorced from self-interests. These DPs were not strictly free settlers, but regarded as assisted settlers who had to conform initially to government work contracts. Like all receiving countries, Australia was selective in the choice of its refugees, giving preference to those with needed manpower skills, eg., labourers willing to work in railway gangs and also to particular national groups.

The DP's settlement in fact was a continuation, albeit in a more formal way, of a policy established with the earlier settlement of isolated groups of White Russians from the Soviet union and German Jews. However, the Refugee programmes established with the DPs represents an entirely new and important facet to Australia's immigration policy objectives which has continued throughout the 50s and the 60s with "waves" of European refugees from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. To these have been added later refugee intakes from Cyprus, the Middle East, especially Lebanon, and more recently from South East Asia and Latin America. As Alan Matheson notes,

> Australia rates in the top 10 countries in terms of ratio of refugees to local population (eg. 1 in 47 as compared with 1 in 69 in Canada) [and] ...the only Western country in that list. [1987: 10].

It is also true that since 1986, there has been a downturn in this intake due to increased racism. In spite of the generally positive approach of official policy, the principles and assumptions of these policies have never been clearly articulated in a manner comparable with the general immigration policy of the country.

The non-British, but still European element in immigration, begun with the DPs was a "staging post" which prepared the ground for a major policy shift leading to the modification of traditional policies and practices favouring British migrants. In the 1950s, because of acute labour shortages and other external pressures, Australia had for the first time to make provision for large scale assisted immigration from Europe. Even then, despite the realism and pragmatism of this new policy, a notion of racial hierarchies prevailed in determining the attractiveness of non-British countries as a source of migrants. The overriding concern was to

match these new migrants with the traditional ethos of "Anglo-conformity". Thus preference was shown to those who could be expected to assimilate easily into this Anglo-Celtic environment.

The first preference was for Northern Europeans such as the Dutch and Germans, and as this source dried up, it was followed by Southern Europeans from the Mediterranean countries principally Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia, but it also included others such as those from Malta, the Near East and in sheer desperation Australia extended the assisted migrant programme to include Turkey, including it as a European country. However, throughout the 60s and 70s, despite the declining emphasis on immigration, as an aspect of population policy, the relative proportion of British to non-British immigrants was continually changing in favour of the latter, though not in absolute numbers.

This shift in traditional immigration policy away from its preference for British migrants to an increasing acceptance of European settlers was indeed a remarkable achievement brought about in a short space of time. Whatever the costs - and these were many and often tragic - for the migrants [see eg. E.Kunz, 1975], the new policy has been implemented with bureaucratic efficiency, and a minimum of disruption to the institutions of the host society. The "success" of this policy may be attributed to the importance attached to government regulation which one analyst calls "Benthamism"[1], and the pragmatism and flexibility shown by the political masters, and Capital, whose interests after all were paramount.

What is perhaps most remarkable was the way in which the host society was carefully guided, indeed manipulated towards accepting these policy changes and with it, the new migrants. This was a well planned excercise in social engineering based on two major strategies of government policy - dispersal and non-confrontation. The former was aimed at preventing ethnic enclaves, but not entirely successful. The other was more community oriented involving such measures as setting up community support structures [cf establishment of Good Neighbour Councils made up of middle class Australians and subsidized by government], schemes to assist migrants to adjust to their new environment, shipboard language classes, housing assistance etc, and importantly co-operation between all levels of government and other key institutions such as the Churches. Furthermore, this planned and controlled migration policy worked well partly no doubt because of the favourable economic climate of the 60s and 70s when there was substantial economic growth and near full employment.

From the point of view of the migrants, the implementation of these policies was an exercise in benevolent paternalism; everything was host-country centred, on the assumption that what was good for the host society was also in the best interests of migrants. They had to accept and acquiesce in the "goodwill" of the dominant groups of the host society and become

1. See Collins [1985]

"totally assimilated" as "New Australians". The latter expectation on the part of the host society was central to its definition of a desirable and successful immigration programme consistent with the national interest.

> Whatever the strengths and shortcomings of these policies, and their implementation, this policy of mass immigration was of momentous significance for Australia as a developing nation.

2. Changing Demographic Profile and Social Composition

Without entering into a detailed account of the whys and wherefores of immigration policy changes [see Markus's (1982) summary of the varying reasons that have been given], that have occurred since 1945 there is no doubt that that in sheer numbers, post-World War II mass immigration has dwarfed the pattern of intake in the earlier "waves" of immigrataion.

Over four decades, the population has more than doubled, and in this expansion, immigrants and their offspring have been the main contributors to this growth. Since 1947, they have accounted for over 50% of its growth, and more importantly, approximately 60% of the growth of the work force. What is more, while in 1947 only a tenth of the population was born overseas, and less than 3% were of non-British origin, by the 1980s nearly 20% were born overseas and more than half of these overseas born were of non-British origin. The number of persons born in the UK and Ireland as a percentage of all persons born overseas fell from 73.0 to 41.4 between 1947 and 1976, and is indicative of the increasing diversity of the population.

This demographic transformation, is what has made Australia a cosmopolitan, "poly ethnic" society, in which the dominance of the "anglo" element - i.e. Australian or British-born has been greatly reduced from just over 97% in 1947 to 88% in 1971 and to approximately 85.8% in 1986. This is all the more significant because the Australian born include second/third generations of ethnic origin. Perhaps a significant fact in the late 1980s is the increasing presence of second and third generation Australians of ethnic origin, constituting approximately 20% of the population[1]. Thus, as previously noted, taking into account both first and second generation migrants, approximately 40% or 2 in 5 Australians are either migrants or children of migrants.

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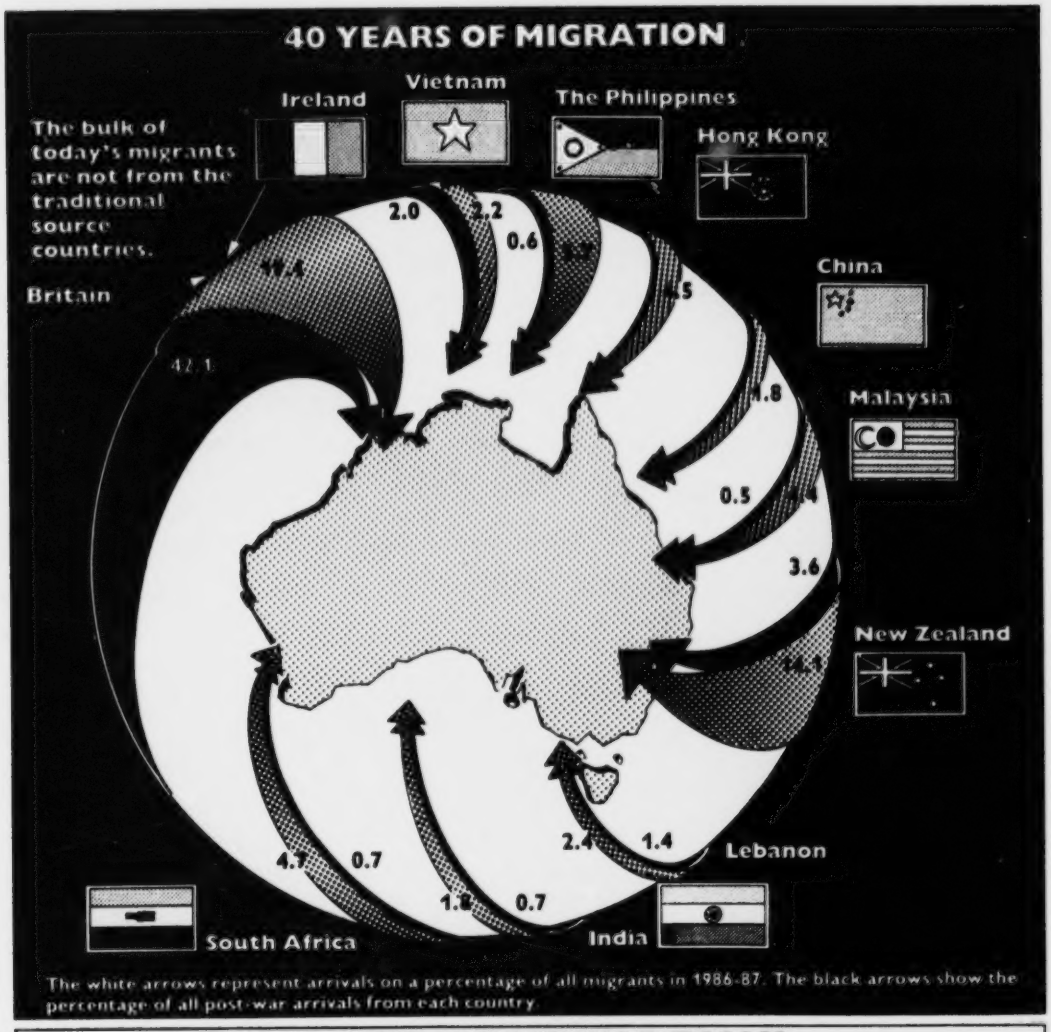
1. See Jennifer Rowlands [1982] for an excellent account of the ethnic composition of the population and also Hugo (1986] for a comprehensive review of trends in Australian demography.

The chart below depicts the nature of the changes the have occurred in a 40 year period, particularly the respective contributions of new and old source countries providing migrants.



1945-1985: A POST WAR TALLY

Country of citizenship	(est.) No.	(e) %
Italy	380,800	8.8
Greece	226,600	5.2
Yugoslavia	184,300	4.2
Holland	166,000	3.8
Germany	142,800	3.3
Poland	104,000	2.4
USA	73,800	1.7
Hungary	33,100	0.8
Austria	31,900	0.7
Turkey	30,600	0.7
Spain	30,400	0.7
Canada	26,700	0.6
France	25,700	0.6
Portugal	24,700	0.6
Malta	24,500	0.6
Czechoslovakia	22,800	0.5
USSR	19,400	0.4
Sri Lanka	20,300	0.5
Finland	17,600	0.4
Cyprus	17,200	0.4
Switzerland	17,200	0.4
Denmark	15,900	0.4
Total:	**4,349,200**	

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics

22

The social composition of immigrants clearly shows that migrants are by no means a homogeneous group, a point often overlooked by even sophisticated academic analysts (!) who persist in refusing to disaggregate data. Looking at the demographic statistics, over 40% of these have come from European countries, especially Eastern Europe and Southern European countries mainly from Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia, and more recently, there has been an upsurge of settlers from the Middle East, Lebanon and Turkey.

Other than the increase of the non-British European migrants during this period, perhaps the most historic and profound change of Australian immigration policy has been the relaxation of restrictions on the entry of persons of non-Caucasian or Asian origin who now constitute 2.6% of the total population[1]. This change commenced in 1966 and preceded the total abolition of restrictions in 1972, following the rescinding of the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act.

The ease and speed with which the "White Australia" policy was abolished, almost by legislative fiat, is still baffling. Even after a decade, it seems difficult to comprehend. As I have suggested elsewhere

> history will record the credit for this bold and courageous move as belonging to Whitlam and Whitlam alone [1986: 5].

Whitlam the Labor Prime Minister of the time, had great political courage and moral fortitude in dealing with this "sacred cow"[2]. In his own words, the aim of the Reform was to be

> less militarily oriented and not open to suggestions of racism and ...enjoy a growing standing as a distinctive tolerant and well regarded nation in the Asian-Pacific region. [1971].

In part this reform was a gesture aimed at removing the moral taint of racism that Australia has encountered in international forums and partly a neighbourly gesture towards some of its future trading partners in the Asian region.

Whatever the motives and reasons for this change, the non-discriminatory policy of immigration became legal and had to be enforced. Initially governments were careful in implementation of this unprecedented act, and only permitted and sustained a modest level of selective "Asian" immigration. The policy favoured certain groups not in terms of a racial or ethnic hierarchy, but mainly on the grounds of social class and economic position. Recruitment policies at this time centred on Western-educated professionals, academics, and family migrants of mixed descent [eg., Anglo-Indians, Burghers from Sri Lanka etc] who were already in the country under earlier guidelines [cf., relaxation of the "White Australia" policy in 1966].

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1. The Secretary of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs estimates that "if the present trends continue in the year 2021 Asian migrants will represent less than 7% of the total " [Press release of 5/8/87].
2. See proceedings of Parliamentary Debates, Canberra, 1971.

The selective nature of these policies was intended primarily to maintain the basic linguistic and cultural composition of the Australian population. The partial success of this policy may be seen in that according to one empirical study of migrant adaptation

> immigrants from the Third World, mostly Asians are substantially more similar to native born Australians than are Mediterranean or Eastern European immigrants. [Evans, 1985:5]

Clearly, these policies were not only highly selective but also carefully regulated. Here again, an essentially conservative bureaucracy took control of implementation strategies, but unlike the 1950s, its role was more subdued and reactive rather than being pro-active in promoting the successful implementation of the spirit of the new policy. Thus, according to one report in the *National Times* [see issue of 24.2.75], the Department of Immigration had been initially successful in subverting the new policy of Asian immigration from its overseas posts through its handling of applications to migrate.

More recently, governed again by economic interests, a vigorous campaign has been launched to recruit Asian businesssmen who now can "buy" themselves into the country because of the capital assets they can bring with them. In a study of Asian migrants by Riaz Hassan & Tan, [1986], it was noted that with the exception of the Vietnamese refugees, the proportion of University graduates among various groups of Asian immigrants was three to seven times greater than among Australians generally.

A complicating factor in implementing this non-racial discriminatory policy of migration has been the question of Asian refugees. Initially, this was relatively easily handled with the East Timorese from Indonesia, but circumstances changed sharply with the influx of "boat people" from South East Asia. As a result of mounting international pressure Australia has had to sustain a large intake of Asian refugees from South East Asia, for which it was generally unprepared. The inept handling of this refugee programme by government and the bureaucracy stands in stark contrast to their previous handling of the comparable situation, when Australia embarked on large scale non-British migrant intake in the 50s.

Although the annual intake of migrants from Asian countries rarely exceeded 27% of the total between 1978 and 1982, it has increased to 32% in 1986/87 and this increase was mainly due to refugees and their families who account for about half of the total from Asia. The refugees[1] settled in Australia over the past decade - about 150,000 - mostly from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, have encountered much the same disadvantages as those from Southern Europe of an earlier period. They are concentrated at the lower end of the occupational spectrum and experience discrimination and disadvantage disproportionately compared to other similar migrant refugees in the past, and even in the present day, eg., refugees from Latin America or the Middle East.

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1. According to information supplied by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Canberra, the total number of Refugee and Special Humanitarian Programme settlers for the 40 year period (1947-1987) was just below 1/2 million (approximately 457,000) [Personal Communication]

3. Social Impact of New Policies

Over and above these social and demographic changes wrought by this massive immigration creating a markedly diverse population, we need to determine how the newcomers have fared in this process of settlement, particularly on social and economic criteria. Given that the impetus for mass migration in the post-World War II period was overwhelmingly an economic one, a prime consideration must be to see how these new immigrants fitted into the workforce.

The occupational distribution of the immigrant workers reveals marked inequalities characteristic of labour market segmentation. Jayasuriya and Cook [1986] have identified this segmentation by reference to the 1976 Census data which shows that

> 35.2 per cent of Australian-born males and 44.8 per cent of U.K.-born males were employed as tradesmen or process workers, compared with 62.9 per cent of Italian-born males, 61.2 per cent of Greek-born, 77.1 per cent of Yugoslav-born and 78.8 per cent of Turkish-born, who were employed mainly as semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the manufacturing and construction industries. [1986: 2-3].

These patterns of occupational distribution patterns including the segmentation of the labour market, have remained much the same. This is evident in the Table presented below [based on Census Statistics for 1981] which shows that the only exception is with respect of the Asian-born category. What this reflects is the highly selective nature of the Asian intake in the 70s. But the increased Asian refugee intake likely to be reflected in the 1986 Census data [still not available] will show further differences in the occupational distribution of Asian-born persons.

Table 1.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF OCCUPACTIONS OF MAJOR-BIRTHPLACE GROUPS

	Australia	UK/Eire	Germany	Greece	Italy	Yugoslavia	Asia*
Professional, technical	14	15	13	3	4	4	19
Administrative, etc.	5	6	7	5	4	2	5
Clerical workers	19	18	15	5	7	5	16
Sales workers	9	9	7	14	7	3	6
Farmers, fishers, etc.	8	2	3	2	7	2	1
Tradespeople, labourers	25	30	37	50	51	64	32
Service, sport, recreation	8	10	9	11	10	10	11
Others, inc. not stated	12	10	10	10	10	10	9
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Asia includes Turkey but not Lebanon or Egypt.

Source: Census 1981 Australian Bureau of Statistics

There is no doubt that labour market segmentation arising from immigration has been immensely beneficial to Australian industry[1] and capital. Perhaps of equal significance is that it has also been responsible for the poverty and disadvantage amongst certain ethnic minority groups; and in addition, according to Collins [1975], helped to create a "labour aristocracy" of the Australian working class.

The paradigm of ethnic inequality originating from the classic and pioneering studies in the 70s suggested that a large number of non-English-speaking migrants - most of whom Martin [1975] characterizes as "ethnic minorities" - tend to be "disadvantaged", i.e. suffer from low wages, poor housing, poor health, and a higher incidence of unemployment and under-employment, when contrasted with comparable Australian-born. Indeed, currently unemployment amongst non-English-speaking immigrants is increasing at a faster rate than in the population as a whole.

The inequalities at work lead to other inequalities in housing, schooling, health and social welfare. These are compounded by cultural barriers, especially of language and value systems. The nature and incidence of ethnic inequalities varies from group to group, and is also conditioned by such factors as length of residence, level of educational achievement, and possession of accredited qualifications. But "ethnicity", interpreted as "minority status", stands independently of class factors in determining rewards and outcomes of social functioning. Without necessarily invoking a concept such as that of Gordon's [1964] "ethclass", there is sufficient evidence to substantiate the effects of ethnicity per se on behavioural outcomes. Appleyard's [1985] remarks that "ethnic minorities in Australia suffer the double disadvantage of ethnicity and class deprivation", highlights the need to consider the joint interaction of class and ethnicity in examining the status of migrant and ethnic minorities in contemporary society. [See CURA Report of 1978.]

Ethnic inequalities are further compounded when taken alongside glaring gender inequalities in Australian society. Women from ethnic minorities have high rates of participation in the labour force and are mostly employed as process workers lowly paid in outreach occupations. [See CURA, 1978.] Clearly, they are severely disadvantaged, and as Edgar remarks

> being a migrant woman at work is to be at the very bottom of the totem pole [1980: 293].

Likewise, the females from some ethnic minority groups are denied access to educational opportunities which further restrict their opportunities for economic and social betterment[2]. Castles highlighting this correctly observes that sytematic studies of migrant women

1. Shergold [1985] provides empirical evidence to substantiate the claim that discrimination against immigrant groups has been an important factor in determining their adverse position in the labour market.
2. The way gender, ethnicity and class interact has been recently examined in a publication entitled *Ethnicity, Class and Gender* by Bottomley et al: (eds) (1984).

have received

> practical impetus for the exposure of the appalling situation of migrant women outworkers. The division between the spheres of production and reproduction is being undermined by the development of the informal economy. This has made the theoretical issues raised by feminists important for trade unionists and policy-makers. [1987: 26].

Although the mainstream Australian feminist movement is anglo dominated and still relates poorly to the needs and aspirations of ethnic working women, the latter are fast becoming a more powerful lobby group and are fighting for ethnic minority rights. The future may well lie with them if they are able to transform multiculturalism into an effective movement.

The disadvantages faced by many migrant and "ethnic" workers, especially young adults [See AIMA study (1986) entitled *Reducing the Risk*], have recently been accentuated by the faltering economy, especially the declining manufacturing industry sector, which has been the traditional preserve of these workers for several decades.

Technological changes too, have contributed to the retrenchment of many migrant workers. Not surprisingly they appear to be particularly vulnerable to the risks of economic dislocation, and bear a disproportionate share of the burdens of the current climate of economic stringency.

This conventional paradigm of "ethnic inequality", which we have briefly sketched and originating from the 70s, has recently been challenged on the grounds of research findings indicating that second generation migrants tend on the whole to do better than comparable Australian groups on several indicators such as educational performance, occupational attainment and income levels. Thus Evans argues that the children of immigrants from the Mediterranean region "are competing successfully in Australian schools" [1984:]. [Also see Birell, & Seitz, 1986, and Mistilis, 1986.]

These views have been challenged by Jakubowicz & Castles [1986], Castles [1986], Jayasuriya [1987] and Kalantzis & Cope [1987] who argue that these reported research findings need to be interpreted with caution as they are flawed on several conceptual and methodological grounds. One major design flaw is the failure to disaggregate data relating to ethnic minority groups, treating migrants as a homogeneous group for purposes of statistical analysis. This is all the more inexcusable because of the lack of data. According to respected researchers like Price [1983], there is a marked absence of valid and reliable social data relating to ethnicity [as opposed to *migrant* data which is usually based on the Australian Bureau of Statistics data on birth place statistics.] In the absence of ethnic data , it is hazardous to use migrant data as the next best alternative to test hypotheses about behavioural and social outcomes for ethnic groups[1].

1. As Price [1983] points out, many reseachers for this reason await with interest the 1986 Census questions on ethnic orign/identification introduced for the first time.

A more definitive answer to the questions raised by those who wish to endorse "the myth of inequality" will only partly depend on the better controlled empirical research. Equally relevant are issues concerning the nature and extent of social mobility in relatively free and open democratic societies. There is no doubt that there has been some *individual* mobility for persons from migrant background. Likewise some ethnic groups may also progress for a variety of reasons over time in economic and occupational terms, while for others, disadvantage may persist well past the period of initial settlement.

These differences in mobility strivings and attainment are often considered only in terms of a horizontal structure such as income differentials and pertain to intra-stratum changes, i.e., horizontal and not vertical mobility. The latter of course, is linked with the stratification system, and interacts with the class structure. It is here that we encounter the "ethnic mobilty trap" well documented in the overseas literature, but not in Australia. As Wiley points out:

> The means for moving up a stratum are contrary to those for moving to the next higher stratum. In other words, there is conflict between intra and inter stratum mobility norms. [1967: 149].

The recent Australian literature has singularly failed to contend with theoretical issues surrounding the issue of ethnic equality/inequality in terms of social betterment and social mobility.

More generally, this issue of equality [see Jayasuriya, 1986, and 1987 for an extended discussion of this] has an important bearing on the nature of ethnic relations when it is taken in conjunction with "ethnicity". To discern this link between equality and ethnicity, we need to see how "ethnicity" emerged in the Australian scene.

IV. Philosophy of settlement and ethnic relations

1. Assimilationism to Multiculturalism: Changing Perspectives

One of the interesting outcomes of the experience of recent "waves" of immigration has been the uncertainity in the dominant groups about assimilationism as a viable and effective ideology of settlement. Within almost a decade of large scale immigration beginning in the early 60s, it was recognized that a hard-line assimilationist policy was dysfunctional, and that the cost/benefit ratio of immigration, especially in relation to migrant workers, was working adversely for society. It was believed that the economic worth of migrants would be enhanced, if the hard-line policies of "total assimilation" or "straight line assimilation"[1] were modified by introducing modest changes, but not totally abandoning the traditional policies and practices of the

1. See Banton [1985: 48] for an explanation of this usage.

culture of "Anglo-conformity".

These initial modifications introduced and known as "Integration" sometime prior to the introduction of "multiculturalism", presented a two-stage assimilation process; a modest relaxation in the first stage which would hopefully facilitate the second stage of a greater degree of assimilation. It is still a point of view which is widely held at a semi-official level. This view of "integration", taken from Banton [1975] was based on assimilation as a two-way process - an acceptance of the reality of social and cultural diversity by the majority dominant group and a willingness of the ethnic minority to accept the core elements of the institutions of the wider society. As a consequence, there was a willingness by government and the public to use the concepts of "ethnicity" in the language of political discourse, and thereby affirm cultural diversity and ethnicity as a fact of social existence.

The concept of ethnicity, as used in policy development signified "a sense of people-hood", a feeling of belonging and sharing a common culture, which continues to persist and influence the behaviour of immigrant people living in an alien environment. It belongs to their "cultural baggage" and is maintained through differentiating and distinctive criteria, the physical or cultural attributes by which ethnic boundaries are demarcated through a process of self-ascription and / or ascription by others. Ethnicity is essentially a subjective process of status identification whose salience and worth varies from individual to individual.

When however, ethnicity as in settlement policy, is viewed as an organizational strategy for ordering human relations and social interactions, it becomes a "collectivity", an "ethnic group". Ethnicity, in this sense, has two main objectives - one *expressive*, and the other, *instrumental*. These two dimensions are particularly important in understanding how this factor of ethnicity and ethnic group-membership has been employed in structuring group relations, following the disenchantment with conventional assimilationist social policies which were by definition, monocultural.

In the first tentative groping towards a doctrine of cultural pluralism, generally cognisant and valuing of ethnicity and ethnic group-membership, it was accepted that ethnic groups and organizations were legitimate structures needed as "buffer zones", providing a "psychic shelter" for immigrants as they learned to adjust and adapt to a new environment. Initially, the notion of "integration" was used to characterize this milder version of assimilation. In the two-stage view of assimilation, previously described, it was hoped that eventually, perhaps even within the same generation, but certainly by the next generation, immigrants would have assimilated or become at best integrated through some "melting pot" process.

With the election of the reformist Whitlam Labor Government in 1972, official policy moved swiftly and dramatically into a new stage of refining the assimilationist doctrine, partly

due to the influence of ethnic pressure groups [cf ethnic rights movement of the 60s], and the failure of assimilationist policies of migrant adjustment. The changes in the philosophy of settlement, and its policies and practices wrought by the Whitlam government need to be considered concurrently with this government's abrogation of the "White Australia" policy, and the granting of assisted passage to all immigrants.

The concept of "Multiculturalism", a term borrowed from Canada, was soon to characterize the philosphy of cultural pluralism being advocated [see Lippman, 1975 for an early statement of this philosophy]. It was first used descriptively to denote the facts of demographic diversity, but soon acquired normative, and prescriptive significance, implying a particular kind of plural society as being desirable. This latter usage has continued to intrigue and baffle bureaucrats, politicians, political commentators, and even learned academics!

The normative view of multiculturalism posits versions of cultural and/or structural pluralism. Taken singly or jointly, pluralism, as multiculturalism proclaims the social benefits of maintaining and promoting "ethnicity" and cultural identity; in other words, the pursuit of "ethnicity" is viewed as a means of safeguarding self-esteem and self-respect, and providng emotional security for the culturally different. The host society in its social policies, not only recognizes, but may actually encourage members of immigrant and ethnic groups to cultivate cultural differences with respect, tolerance and understanding of each other's differences.

In pursuing ethnicity in this manner, we stress the *expressive* dimension of ethnicity to the relative exclusion of the *instrumental* dimension which has to do with competition, conflict and power relations between groups. Hence the struggle by the culturally different, the ethnic minorities, for equality, fairness and justice, may be put at peril by an excessive reliance on ethnicity and the search for a congenial "life-style". Herein resides the proverbial paradox of pluralism of having to choose between, or balance, the claims of "life chances" [equality] against "life styles" [ethnicity]. Schermerhorn, reflecting on this paradox has portrayed vividly the dilemma inherent in it as follows:

> If pluralism does not go beyond itself, if it is exhausted in self congratulation and bemused nostalgia it will become, like a stagnant pool whose lack of outlet condemns it to final pollution. [1974: 31.]

An equally contentious issue for Multiculturalism as an ideology of settlement resides in the uneasy tension and uncertainty that exists between *cultural* and *structural* pluralism. The latter prescribes the existence of separate but inter-dependent ethnic groups and cognate structures eg., clubs, churches etc. as the mechanisms by which "cultural pluralism" can be sustained. The fear is that by promoting multiculturalism in this fashion, we may be threatening the integrity and moral order of society itself, by the creation of separate structures. divorced from mainstream society.

Australian multiculturalism has from its earliest pronouncements, been especially sensitive to the dilemma of having to straddle cultural and structural pluralism, and has made much of the need to maintain a socially cohesive and stable society which is implicitly assumed to be a homogeneous one. This to a great extent reflects the fears and anxieties of the dominant groups in society who have only reluctantly conceded abandoning a monocultural society. They fear that, if competing "structures" are established as a part of public policy, not only will it be heterogeneous and less cohesive, but more importantly, it is likely to diminish their own influence and power structures. It was for this latter reason that the mainstream exponents of multiculturalism in Australia advocated and developed a distinctly "culturalist" version of multiculturalism as social policy.

According to an influential view of social theory [see eg., Castles 1987], public policy and social science constructs "ethnicity", and provides a mode of interpreting social reality. The policies towards ethnic affairs and race relations regulating social interactions which evolved in the 70s helped to define a "culturalist" view of multiculturalism. "Culture", in this view became closely associated with ethnicity and language and served to define the domain and boundaries of public policy. It is this definition of "ethnicity" and the "collectivity" in terms of cultural factors such as language which provided the basis and rationale of multicultural social policies in the 70s.

This "culturalist" perspective is exemplified in an influential public policy document - the Galbally Report [1978] which in promoting multiculturalism as social policy emphasized constantly the need to maintain cultural and ethnic identity by keeping ethnic languages, customs and traditions, while always giving due obeisance to the need for social cohesion and equality of opportunity. This was essentially a "life style" approach to multiculturalism which could be safely pursued without breaching social cohesion and challenging the power structures and unity of the dominant groups. The logic of this form of multiculturalism as Storer [1973] rightly observes, derives from a functionalist approach which is predicated on unity and the "consensus" view of society. Social solidarity is therefore the pre-condition for any form of pluralism, cultural or political, which necessarily implies competition between interests.

The best expression of this model of multiculturalism which has had bi-partisan political and broad-based public support, is seen in the controversy surrounding the establishment of Ethnic Media - radio and television - in Australia. Originally, the legislative proposals for ethnic media were couched in a language which suggested that the prime object was the promotion of "a greater sense of self esteem and confidence" through programmes directed towards cultural maintenance and enhancement. The Bill as presented to Parliament, changed this

dramatically by stating that the function of multicultural television and radio was

> to foster understanding and appreciation of diverse cultures within Australia

As the Whites rightly point out

> This change of goal reflected one of the recurring themes in the debate about Multicultural television, and to some extent ethnic radio. The debate concerned the degree to which specialized broadcasting services might lead to the development of "electronic ghettos" [1983: 153].

A Labor M.P. then in Opposition, but now a Minister in the Hawke Labor government, observed in scholarly fashion that the issue was an instance of the strain between "particularism and integration"! This admirably sums up the meaning and understanding given to multiculturalism as a strategy of achieving the better "integration" [we might simply substitute "assimilation"] of ethnic groups in a homogeneous society.

This policy debate about ethnic media which still continues, reflects the manner in which Australian governments have sponsored through various public and social policies, the pursuit of cultural diversity in the guise of multiculturalism. The prime requirement of all these is that they must not lead to undesirable "separate" developments. Thus, the modest support for ethnic schools was not considered separatist in this sense. Although mainstream Australian society has given limited and cautious approval to this "culturalist", lifestyle version of multiculturalism, it is not clear to what extent social attitudes towards other groups, immigration policy and multiculturalism itself have changed over time.

Recent attitudinal studies, limited as they are as a source of valid and reliable evidence of social attitudes and an indicator of community standards, indicate in general,the continuation of earlier unfavourable and negative attitudes on items such as ethnic groups and immigrants in general. In attitudinal surveys, the preferred hierarchy of immigrant groups roughly stable over the years has been Northern and Southern European to "coloured" immigrants. As the Whites, in attempting to summarize these studies, many of dubious value, point out,

> there is neither ovewhelming acceptance of immigrants in the Australian community nor outright rejection [1983: 68].

More disturbing has been the recent outpourings of anti-Asian racism in the media, organized around fanatical racist groups, similar to the National Front in the U.K. The acrimonious and divisive "Blainey debate" [1984] following the anti-Asian comments of a distinguished Australian academic, Prof. Blainey, cast in the mould of an evangelical crusader reminiscent of Enoch Powell, exemplifies the fears of middle Australia and the New Right about changes to aspects of Immigration policy that have been made in recent times. Blainey, was not talking about colour and fear of unbridled Asian migration [images of hordes of "boat people" colonizing the North of Australia, an issue on which conservatives are divided] but as

I have argued elsewhere [Jayasuriya,1985], his real but hidden agenda was a powerful denunciation of multiculturalism [on which issue the conservatives are agreed], as a social ideal and subtle reaffirmation of the old attitudes of strict "anglo-conformity", and the need to return to assimilationist policies. These concerns are part of a broader challenge by the New right to the accepted policy consensus of recent times.

Against this background, how do the migrant and ethnic minority communities themselves , the victims and target of rigid assimilationist policies of a past era , perceive and understand these changes in migrant settlement, its philosophy, policy and practices. By and large, they have welcomed and applauded these for their positive and beneficial effects such as greater sense of self esteem and equality of respect. They have been eagerly embraced, especially by the emerging ethnic petit-bourgeosis - the new ethnic middle class, who occupy leadership positions in peak ethnic organizations, associations, religious groups, clubs and schools. It is they who have spearheaded the campaign against monoculturalism and anglo-conformity, and bargained with the dominant groups for concessions. The leaders of these ethnic organizations and stuctures, partly government subsidized [eg. grant-in aid and welfare and community grants], have become the power brokers in social and political circles. Hence, they number among the main beneficiaries of this new multiculturalism.

The existence and rapid development of ethnic structures, numbering some 2600 in the fields of education, religion and welfare and over 100 ethnic groups, presents the most significant feature in recent developments of multicultural social policy. Yet what is also intriguing is that among ethnic groups, the "non-joiners"[1] by far outnumber the "joiners", suggesting that ethnic group organizations are not fully participatory or representative of these "constituencies". The recent controversy surrounding the role and function of "ethno-specific" structures in public policy vis-a-vis "mainstreaming" [see CHOMI Report 52, 1986] of ethnic services, is witness to the importance of this as an issue of public policy. It also raises the question of "structural pluralism", and to what degrees it is permissible.

Some scholars, like the late Jean Martin have strongly argued, that "ethnic culture requires ethnic groups" [1978: 215]. In other words, the very existence of "cultural pluralism" is dependent on the existence of some form of "structural pluralism". Even if one does not necessarily agree with this viewpoint, it has always been necessary for the advocates of cultural pluralism from the earliest days and whatever the view of pluralism proposed, to observe that "a fine line divides cultural pluralism from structural pluralism". [Lippman Report, 1975.]

This issue of delineating the interface of cultural and structural pluralism, must surely be a priority item for the proposed National Agenda of multiculturalism proposed for the

1. In a recent survey in Western Australia it was revealed that only " a minority of individuals of ethnic background joined ethnic organisations" [1985: 5]. This is consistent with other studies such as those of Burnley who reports that " a strong majority did not belong to, or participate in ethno organizations" [1985: 189].

Bicentennial year. Elsewhere I have urged that in the further development multiculturalism as public policy:

> we are entitled to know precisely how much and to what extent they are prepared to espouse the claims of structural as against cultural pluralism. For example, do we accept ethnic educational or media structures to be maintained at public cost? And if so, on what grounds is such an allocation of resources to be justified not just from the rhetoric of multiculturalism. Policy-makers need to spell out realistically what such a policy entails - the costs and benefits. [1983]

Ethnic groups who have embraced cultural pluralism as a desirable philosophy of settlement will need to know how far they can go to create genuine well-organized interest group structures, not necessarily ethno-specific structures, that will be recognized politically. The ability of ethnic groups to achieve this status will of course depend upon their ability to maintain and sustain their ethnicity by defending and strengthening their present boundaries as ethnic groups.

I believe the clue to this lies in the behaviour of the second and third generation ethnic minority groups. A great deal will depend on how they respond to their roots and visions and aspirations of parents and grand parents for them. As previously indicated there is no reason to assume that the Nansen Laws will operate in Australia, and that the third generation will search for their "roots". Indeed, there is to the contrary, increasing evidence of inter-generational conflicts at the family level, and a loosening of ties among later generations as indicated by language shifts between generational groups. Callan [1986] summarizing this evidence on "language shift", i.e. the choice of the language of the host society rather then the home language, states that in Australia language shift is greater among second generation immigrants. The extent of the shift varies between different ethnic groups. For example, it is least among Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs; moderate among Germans and Poles with the greatest shift occurring amongst the Dutch and Maltese. This sort of evidence may not necessarily indicate an outright rejection of ethnicity in the orthodox sense, but rather an attempt to redefine it in something more akin to what Gans has called [1979] "symbolic ethnicity".

In this context, the increasing incidence of inter-ethnic marriages is also of special interest. According to the doyen of Australian demography, Charles Price, inter-ethnic marriage may lead to a more "mixed" cultural society rather than a multicultural one. If this were to occur on a wide scale, and endogamous marriages became the exception rather than the norm, ethnic group boundaries are likely to become diffused and lessen pressures on group identification and the need for cultural and linguistic maintenance. According to Stone,

> levels of inter marriage are one indication of the relative power of ethnic and racial groups; and for this reason the actual character of ethnicity may have changed for later generations for whom it is not so much group membership but a loose sense of ethnic identity that is of value. [1985: 117].

A critical factor influencing the second and third generation response will in part be their social and economic circumstances in a rapidly declining, more competitive economy. The economic and social well-being of these ethnic groups will depend to a great extent on the degree to which mainstream society regards them as full members of society, with equal access to its economic and political resources and benefits. It is conceivable that in adverse social and economic circumstances, these groups may be rejected by, and alienated from, the wider mainstream society. If this happens, these groups could easily turn to their ethnicity not just to seek personal solace and refuge, but as a springboard for articulating their grievances. Similar sentiments are expressed by M.Banton writing in a different context when he states that

> If the second generation of immigrant children are not enabled to compete fairly with their age mates for work and housing, they prove a rebellious and expensive minority [1986: 393]

In other words, it is not the *expressive* dimensions of ethnic identity that will be uppermost for ethnic groups, but the *instrumental* dimension in their search for equity and justice in the competitive struggle for survival in worsening economic circumstances.

Instrumental ethnicity, where ethnic groups are clearly acknowledged as interest groups, in a politically plural society will create an entirely different scenario for the future of multiculturalism. This would be consistent with what Castles [1986] & Jayasuriya [1987] have independently identified as an alternative and preferred multicultural model which sees ethnicity in terms of *minority rights*. In adopting this model what is required is essentially a change in the notion of "citizenship" [a la Marshall, 1963] to accommodate the specific rights and entitlements of minority groups. Australian political institutions still operate on a notion of "universalism" which needs modification.

2. Towards a New Pluralism : Issues and Prospects

This model of multiculturalism sees "ethnic groups" as "minorities" and interest groups in a plural society [see J.Martin 1971 for the classic exposition of this view], having claims on the State. In this sense, multiculturalism will become a contested issue of political life with ethnic groups having to increasingly compete with other interest groups for their share of society's resources, including access to political power. An outline of this model of multiculturalism is found in the Cass Report evaluating the work of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, the flagship of the "culturalist" model of multiculturalism. Consequently the Cass Report argues forcibly that

> If multiculturalism is not fashioned in the future as an effective vehicle for social change, especially change in life circumstances and life chances of migrant and ethnic minorities, it will remain an impotent, ineffective and irrelevant ideology of migrant settlement. It

would fail to rectify social inequalities, to the detriment not only of migrant groups but of Australian society as a whole. [AIMA Review of 1983.]

Multiculturalism viewed in this light will no longer be dependent on the patronage and indulgence it receives from dominant groups. Rather its legitimacy will depend largely on the ability of ethnic groups to mobilize and use effectively the resources available to them as interest groups representing ethnic minority interests. If these are fragmented as at present in a welter of splintered groups representative of a minority rather than a majority of their numbers, and marginalized through espousing purely "cultural' interests, the effectiveness of this new model of multiculturalism as a strategy for change in the political arena will be foredoomed.

However, there are various ways in which this model could be implemented. Thus, for example, instead of endeavouring to become an independent power structure, these groups could function as loosely-knit organizations within the existing structures of society such as political parties, or corporate bodies such as the trade unions, or the Church. In essence this strategy was employed by the Australian feminist movement and may prove equally helpful in developing a model for ethnic minorities. The preferred strategy of operation for a minority rights approach to multiculturalism will be determined by a complex inter-play of political and social forces. But above all, it will depend on the capacity of the groups themselves to enter into these public processes of social interaction, and function effectively in social and political life.

Australian ethnic organizations suffer from being elitist, hierarchical, middle class dominated and loosely organized around factions. Nevertheless they have the potential to move in this new direction if they are prepared to be genuinely democratic, more representative of their "constituents", more partisipatory, cognizant of broad and commonly held minority interests, and prepared to function more in the *public* domain than the *private* domain of limited cultural concerns. They also need to be more alert and responsive to the concerns and interests, especially the competitive "life chances" issues of economic and social well being, of second and third generation Australians who retain some sense of ethnic identification.

A recent landmark decision of the West Australian Industrial Relations Commission granting English-on-the-job provision for migrant workers as a matter of rights is a welcome indication that multiculturalism, as a principle of social policy may be moving in this direction. Interestingly this achievement was a triumph not for bodies like the peak ethnic organizations in Australia, but for the Trade Union Movement which has up to now been tardy in dealing with migrant workers.

This decision is notable because it is rare for concerted action to be taken in defence of the issues of ethnic minority rights such as discrimination at the work place and denial of access to services. Equal Opportunity [EO] legislation and Anti-Discrimination measures in

Australia have by and large been invoked chiefly on behalf of minorities other than the ethnic minorities; the former i.e. EO programmes, especially for women, and the latter mainly in relation to Aboriginal people. The denial of the existence of disadvantage for ethnic minorities represents a refusal on the part of the dominant groups to acknowledge them as minority interest groups.

Ethnic organizations too have succumbed to this perception of their status as a social group. As a rule they remain committed more to the pursuit of "identity" than the the question of "rights", and have so far invested their resources mainly on issues of cultural and linguistic maintenance. One of their main achievements, and this is certainly commendable from an organizational point of view, has been to persuade government to adopt a National Language Policy. Whether this expectation on the part of ethnic communities is achieved in the implementation of the National Language policy, remains to be seen. The hope of these groups is that more effective policies for language maintenance will enable ethnic minorities to defend their cultural interests and sustain their identity.

Irrespective of its success or otherwise this policy strategy of ethnic bodies may be for several reasons a shortsighted policy of limited utility. On the one hand, language is not an equally important key element for *all* ethnic groups; it is more salient for some European groups such as the "captive" nations of East Europe. This throws into question the validity of the taken-for-granted assumption linking language and culture which stems mainly from the European romantic tradition espoused by Herder and others.[1] Besides, ethnic identification could be sustained through means other than language maintenance; this is indicated by the emergence of "symbolic ethnicity" as a basis for constituting ethnicity among the second generation. In short, there is no guarantee that the children of first generation settlers will wish to maintain the ethnicity through language acquisition. Thus, as Castles correctly interprets,

> The forms of political mobilisation of ethnic minorities are shifting. The young people who have come through the Australian educational system do not express their interests through ethnic orgnisations to the same extent as their parents. Many of them are "inside the system": welfare and educational professionals with networks linking both ethnic and mainstream institutions. This has led to a questioning of the concept of the "ethnic vote" as a political factor. [1986: 6].

In short, a major shortcoming in the structure and organization of ethnic groups in Australia relates primarily to their limited capacity for ethnic mobilization. Admittedly this varies from group to group. Some of the larger and older groups, especially the Greeks, are well-organized and influential and have shown a remarkable ability to mobilize themselves when their concerns are aroused or interests threatened. But, in general, the political power and influence of ethnic groups is minimal. Jupp [1984] also makes the valid point that this may be to some measure due to the fact that "the rules of Australian politics deprecates ethnic

1. See Smith [1981] for an extended discussion of this issue.

mobilization". But Ballard [1987] rightly observes that

> once an ethnic group is mobilized, its behaviour is comparable with that of other interest groups within society. [1987: 132.]

In terms of ethnic mobilization, wherever the ethnic vote exists, it is heavily dispersed in the political electorates and has shown little ability to influence the outcome of democratic politics[1]. However, during the General Election of 1987, the ethnic groups flexed their political muscle in a few marginal seats, and gave a glimpse of their potential in this regard. Unfortunately it is the logic of ethnic politics, rather than the politics of ethnicity which still dominates the ethnic minority communities.

A major hindrance to effective ethnic mobilization has been the successful co-option of ethnic community leaders, especially those from the larger well-established groups, by the dominant power elite and the bureaucracy. This has usually been achieved through a system of political appointments and favours, all of which have greatly muted the power of peak organizations of ethnic bodies and groups in which these co-opted leaders are located. The alliance between the ethnic elite, drawn mainly from the first generation professionals, ethnic petit-bourgeosie and bureaucracy at State and Federal levels, has proved to be an effective strategy of regulation and social control via the the ideology of multiculturalism and principles of multicultural social policy. The former is more evident in the labour market, and the latter with delivery of services to migrants and ethnic community groups.

This "success" story may have come to the end of the road, and we may be entering a period of confusion, uncertainty and drift, as the "old" multiculturalism proves to be irrelevant and ineffective in the current social and political climate. The functional value of this earlier version of multiculturalism, essentially a conservative "first generation strategy"[2], has little appeal for present day ethnic minorities with new needs and different "clients" or "actors", such as the ethnic youth, militant women and workers, and, unemployed labour force. To this must be added the change in the pattern of immigration with an increasing presence of non-Caucasian groups and the growing influence of Islamic groups who may have for the first time since the Catholic Irish introduced a religious factor into ethnic relations. In brief, the ideology of multiculturalism and its application as a principle of social policy confronts a social and political reality totally different from that which existed in the early 70s when multiculturalism came into vogue.

The position of non-Caucasians in society and the question of Asian migration will undoubtedly present politically complex and sensitive issues, for the future, especially for multiculturalism. The ever present danger is that seemingly intractable old attitudes, and latent racism, may easily explode given the appropriate conjunction of circumstances. As B.Falk

1. See Jupp [1984] for a further discussion of the influence of ethnic groups in politics.
2. See Jayasuriya's [1984] Lalor Address entitled "Whither Multiculturalism".

expresses it:

> anti-Chinese feeling generated by frantic competition on the goldfields may lie dormant until attention is focussed on the urban Chinese during a depression. The reasons given for antagonism (work too hard, do not mind sub-standard conditions) may differ from those publicised in the past (dirty, lascivious, etc.). The aspects of identifiable difference that became targets vary as the stereotype of a particular group is seen in the perspective of new material conditions. In the interval, difference has continued to be noted, but with muted animosity. 'ideas have like switchmen determined the tracks along which action has been pushed by the dynamic of interest'. [1985: 9].

The official "silence" on racism express clearly the reluctance, nay fear, of the dominant groups to confront these issues more directly.

The possibility of a differentiation of ethnic minority groups along "colour" lines, creating a White/non-White conflict situation comparable to other societies cannot be entirely excluded, although it appears most unlikely. Nevertheless, it raises the delicate question of "racial", in a biological sense, as opposed to cultural, "ethnic", factors in Australian inter-ethnic group relations. Whereas the latter has been the dominant factor in much of post-World War II ethnic relations, we may have to encounter and face up to a more distinctly "racial" element in ethnic relations, and this is a cause of serious concern. How Australia comes to terms with its "coloured" Aboriginal population may hold the clue here.

At a theoretical level, the issue of "colour" vs "cultural" factors in ethnic relations in Australia is an interesing one which has been raised recently by M.Banton [1987] in a study entitled *Racial Theories*. Here he argues convincingly that the British "racial" consciousness is uniquely "ethnic" in the biological sense, and is colour-based; furthermore it centres around the notion of "stock" and "origin". The French on the other hand, Banton suggests, remain "colour blind", but excessively "cultural" in their ethnic and race relations.

This novel speculation may throw a new and fresh light on the historical association of "racism" with "colour" in Australia. In our earlier discussions we have already noted that the attitudes towards the early Chinese immigrants were built on a "colour" conscious racism typified by the term "yellow peril". Following Banton, this may be seen as an unwanted legacy Australia has inherited from its British origins. Fortunately, this legacy may be offset by another British inheritance, namely, the Brtish liberal values of justice, equality and human rights which may mitigate the ill-effects of this inherited "racism", and this could also be fortified by the pragmatism of the British political tradition. Hopefully, these supposedly "inherited" values and attitudes may help to orient the relations with non-Caucasian groups in a less conflicting and less tension-ridden manner.

The adaptational processes of these new groups may not be dissimilar to those witnessed in earlier periods with other ethnic groups. An important proviso of course is that the dominant groups are prepared to show the same degree of flexibility, tolerance, resilience and willingness

to accommodate these new groups. The likelihood of this happening is enhanced by compelling economic and political pressures arising from the increasing dependency of the Australian economy on the Asian region. The fact that Australia's economic future and destiny lies in the Asian Region is bound to be a powerful factor that will invariably influence domestic policies and social practices, such as those relating to immigration and ethnic relations within the country. This was clearly evident in the recent controversy about Asian migration, when the powerful media, owned and controlled by Australian capital took a firm stand against these attacks on Asian settlers, and joined forces with government and other establishment groups to clamp down on these manifestations of blatant racism. This augurs well for the future.

In this scenario, a sensitive and different issue for ethnic relations relates to growing numbers of people of Islamic origin, currently settling in Australia, and for whom religion, more than language is the salient factor in their ethnicity. I suspect that these marked religious differences may be more problematic than that of "colour" for the Australian psyche. Certainly this is highly conjectural but deserves the closet scrutiny.

In general, as far as the issue of non-Caucasians and Asian groups in migration and ethnic relations are concerned, it is not without significance that a major Review of Immigration Policy recently initiated by the Ausralian Government is headed by a noted Australian academic, and later diplomat, who is a distinguished Chinese scholar, and currently heads the government's newly established *Asian Studies Council*. The findings of this major Review will no doubt have to address this issue and its recommendations will have considerable bearing on the future course of non-Caucasian and Asian ethnic relations in Australia.

V. Conclusion

It will be evident that an overriding concern of this Paper has been to understand the development of non-indigenous ethnic relations in Australia by placing them directly in the context of immigration policy and practice. This properly includes issues of recruitment and settlement which as we have seen, are closely linked though quite independent of one another. Within this framework we have tried to demonstrate that the forces acting on ethnic relations in the present day have a historical legacy derived from the centrality of immigration in the unfolding of Australian history. The contention of this Paper is that these historical forces will continue to influence and constrain the future. This is nowhere more apparent than in the emergence and evolution of the notion of multiculturalism. Best described as a "social experiment" in ethnic relations and migrant settlement, it is a social ideal constantly being redefined, refined, and absorbed, with a sense of pragmatic realism, into the structures and ethos of Australian society.

Australia, nearly 200 years after its founding as an "anglo fragment" society is today a markedly different society to what it was at the turn of this century. It is less homogeneous, more varied, cosmopolitan in outlook and more outward-looking. But in many ways it remains the same. The impress of history is firmly inscribed in the growing sense of an "Australian identity", and is reflected in the new Australian nationalism, its Ockerism and the "love/hate" character with the "mother country", Britain; the British lion and Australian kangaroo coexist uneasily. Undoubtedly, because of the impact of international and domestic events of the last four decades, such as the growing American influence, arising from economic and political links, and in particular, the communications revolution, Australian society has been radically transformed socially and culturally. Its institutions and ethos all of which have changed and are changing are less "British" in character today. We are too close to these events to understand and perceive the magnitude of these changes and their bearing on the emerging future. But in this social transformation, undoubtedly migration has been a critical and central factor; and because of this, immigration and ethnic relations have gained greater visibility and importance in the political agenda.

From our broad ranging overview of immigration in Australia, an obvious and glaring fact is that the waves of immigration throughout the 19th and 20th century to the present day have made Australia less homogeneous and less British in character, though it still continues to be an anglo-fragment society. Admittedly, the cosmopolitan multicultural influences of the past few decades have further weakened the British dominance in the Australian ethos. "Foreigners" and "minorities" are certainly as we have shown, not a phenomenon of the past few decades only. Throughout its history, Australians have adapted to some "strangers" while rejecting others.

In fact, with minority groups, we notice the processes of adaptation goes back to the earliest days of settlement. The "Britishness", the British ancestory, itself is complex: it is made up of various elements; early Anglo-Saxon characteristics have "melted" with the Irish, Scottish and Cornish to provide a more Anglo-Celtic flavour. Indeed, as Jupp [1986] perceptively observes, this blending was partly a result of a "mixing" when the Irish married Protestants; and the accommodation and incorporation of Irish Catholics into the Australian millieu over time, stands out as a notable feature in the evolving Australian identity.

Historically, the Australian-Irish connection, recently documented by O'Farrell [1986], presents a worthwhile model for fashioning inter-group relations. As suggested earlier, it is conceivable that similar developments may occur with other groups such as the large Australian-Greek group. If this happens, then they may become the first of the new migrant "ethnics" to be accommodated in the Australian ethos, while still preserving their separate identity as indeed has been the case of the Australian-Irish and Australian-Jewish communities

What is perhaps most intriguing in this chapter of Australian immigration in the latter half of the 20th century is the re-definition which has taken place of the "anglo" elements, coming from the original charter groups, and persisting over time. In essence, what has happened is that today, "anglo" hegemony has come to mean "Australian", and not "British", as perhaps it was in the early days of World War II migrant settlement. Wilton and Bosworth hint at this when they observe that sometimes it seems, a British Australian has only been replaced by avowedly Australian Australia. [1984: 188].

The flourishing and strident Australian nationalism is evidence of this trend. Australian nationalism, originally confined to the image of the "boxing kangaroo" so widely advertised and marketed in the sporting and commercial arena, is now visible in all aspects of social life - the arts, politics, media, education, industry and business, and is likely to gain momentum in 1988 with the Bicentennial celebrations.

The evolution of this "Australian" sense of nationhood and identity is a story in itself[1], outside the purview of this Paper. Yet, this has special significance in explaining and understanding likely future developments in the ideology of settlement and its bearing on future ethnic relations.

To cite one example of this, we may look at the future of multicultural education in relation to the new field of "Australian Studies" being advocated as an educational strategy to be implemented at *all* levels of education. According to a major Report in 1987 on Australian Studies, *Windows Onto Worlds*, released by the Australian government, it is essentially a question of Australianising the curriculum. Australian S/studies [S/studies depending on how it is conceived as a major subject or an approach permeating the curriculum] exemplifies many of the characteristics of the emerging Australian nationalism. Despite its many strengths and attractiveness as an educational ideas, it has many limitataions.

Thus, if Australian S/studies rejects, ignores or minimizes the immigrant experiences and merely re-affirms the cultural hegemony of the dominant groups, those who now control educational institutions, then it could present a sharp reversal to the growth of "pluralism" reflected in such areas as Multicultural Education. As Stockley rightly warns, Australian Studies may be

> in serious tension with the priniciples of multicuturalism and multicultural education ...[and] we could have chauvinistic studies what would sound as though the multicultural realities of Australia had never been recognised and acted upon. [1986].

As with most kinds of nationalism, the "Australian Studies" type of development has the inherent potential to lead to a narrow xenophobic, jingoism confirming Australian insularity and parochialism. It is a development to be avoided at all costs as it is fraught with grave danger to the well being of society. However, it is too early to say what the future holds for Australian

1. See Bruce Grant [1984] for a challenging account of this developing Australian identity.

S/studies and its likely impact on such areas as multicultural education and Aboriginal education. Like many other aspects of multicultural social policies eg. media and welfare, that have evolved in the last two or three decades multicultural education too is in a state of flux and and an air of uncertainty exists as to the future directions, likely to be taken with these policy initiatives. Regrettably, dissatisfaction with existing models of multicuturalism has got only as far as planning a National Agenda [!] for multiculturalism in the Bicentennial Year.

Instead of adopting a pessimistic view and bemoaning the possible return to old attitudes reminiscent of "orthodox assimilationism", I prefer to take a more positively challenging and optimistic view of the future. In espousing the merit and value of multiculturalism, I am essentially expressing my faith in "pluralism" as a meaningful social philosophy for a democratic society. My optimism in this regard is guided by the remarkable flexibility and adaptability of Australian social and political institutions shown in responding to the waves of migrants both British and non-British, throughout its history. One can only speculate on how Australian society will cope with the new and emerging social realities we have described. However,if the past is any guide, the form of "pluralism" I have urged as the new model of multiculturalism, refined and sharpened to provide realistic aims and social purposes, may represent a creative reponse to the emerging order and the unique position of Australia in the Asian region. The latter is vividly expressed by Bruce Grant as the geo-political dilemma of Australia wherein we find a White, Christian and European society,

> stuck like an anchored raft between the Indian and Pacific Oceans detached from the great land mass of ideas in the Northern Hemisphere and set apart from the great American Western Hemisphere" [1983].

It seems pointless to search in vain for old moorings, decaying and beyond restoration. Clearly far reaching social, cultural and political changes have altered the Australian dependence on British ancestry, and perhaps moved sideways into the hegemony of the United States.

Given this socio-political reality, Australian ethnic relations of the future will I believe develop within the framework of an "Australian Identity" cast in the liberal democratic mould as in the past, with tact, realism, and flexibility. We need to have vision and boldness of purpose to engage in further "social experiments", as we have done with "multiculturalism" over the past few decades.

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Australian Multicultural Education in a Comparative Perspective

Prof. Laksiri Jayasuriya
University of Western Australia
Nedlands, 6009, W.A.
Australia

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AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE[1]

The Comparative Approach

In adopting a comparative approach to this paper outlining developments in Australian Multicultural Education my intention is twofold: first I am mindful of the fact that as an Australian I am speaking to a predominantly Canadian audience; and secondly, I believe there are strong intellectual and scholarly reasons for choosing this perspective.

While it is still fair to say that there is no universally accepted definition of what comparative education does, or should entail (in this respect, it is no different to most other concepts and approaches in the social science field), Brian Holmes has offered a useful definition which highlights understanding through theoretically based generalizations. Thus according to this view, the essence of comparative education is that it is:

> a theoretical generalizing social science consisting of those theories, hypotheses, models and laws which facilitate our understanding of the processes of education (1981, p.10).

Charles Hoy, reviewing this viewpoint correctly observes that Holmes has:

> identified the aims and purpose of the subject as both theoretical - improve our understanding of education as such, and in particular, our own national problems in education - and practical - it should help administrators to reform their schools more effectively and efficiently (Corner, 1984, p.248).

These, I suggest, are both laudable and necessary aims and purposes of a comparative approach. As Rodgers states 'comparative studies (enable) us to identify what is "generally true" for all countries and what is unique and specifically true to any situation' (1986)

A critical question to be posed is why there are different solutions to broadly similar problems in the case of multicultural education. This refers to the crucial problem of how we respond to the educational needs of ethnic minority groups located within the context of a larger society and its longer term interest. Given the rapid growth of 'poly-ethnic' or 'multi-cultural' societies and the salience of 'ethnicity' in the social and political life of developed and developing societies, the Australian experience with multicultural social policies, ie. especially in the education field, though relatively recent, deserves recounting and understanding through comparison.

As I have noted elsewhere,

> we have, in Australia, for far too long functioned in relative isolation and thereby failed to be challenged and enriched by an exposure to overseas experience and developments in relation to multicultural education. We can only stand to gain by a proper fertilization of our several experiences, however varied these may be. (Jayasuriya, 1986, p.10)

Within the general field of comparative education there are a number of research

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1. The assitance and contribution of Dr Anna Alderson of Curtin University, School of Education, Western Australia in the preparation of this paper is gratefully acknowl-

strategies or methods which can be used. Before any of the more sophisticated techniques which have now been developed can be applied, however a data base must be established. In many instances the most appropriate means of creating a data base is the use of 'area' or 'case' studies.

Rodgers (1972) in a different context has argue for the 'case study' approach as a first line of attack in a relative new field of comparative study. This she suggest may rightly precede theory construction by resorting to 'inductive comparison' as a means of establishing generalizations through specific case studies. This approach is particularly relevant in situations where, as in multicultural education, there is a dearth of systematic studies. Given the lack of descriptive material available until quite recently on the policies and practices of multicultural education in most countries, it is refreshing to note that this literature is now growing and there exists a great deal of 'case study' material (see for example the study edited by T. Corner for The British Comparative and International Education Society entitled *Education in Multicultural Societies)*.

A Comparative Framework

To go beyond the simple description characteristic of 'area' or 'case' studies, tentatively towards some interpretation and analysis of findings about policies and practices of education, we need to resort to some sort of classification system. This is also particularly helpful in going some way beyond the conceptual confusion associated with the term 'multicultural education'. Indeed, until this has been clarified the entire field of policy and practice in multicultural education is likely to remain bedevilled by conceptual misunderstanding and confusion about the aims and objectives of policies and pedagogical practice.

The taxonomic task of classifying multicultural education in some systematic way using comparable and meaningful categories is as yet in its early stages. In this context the work of the Canadian scholar, Romulo Magsino (with whom you may be familiar) provides a promising and useful basis for further work. Magsino's system (1985) delineates six conceptions of, or approaches to, multicultural education based on a categorisation of their *purposes, ideological foundations and assumptions, target populations* and *curricular/pedagogical highlights.* Magsino's classification has been derived from the pioneering work of Margaret Gibson (1977) which was later further applied by Young (1979) in the Canadian context.

Gibson's fourfold classification of multicultural education also employed by Young, identifies the following four principal 'types', in reality 'ideal types' which are not mutually exclusive.

1. Education of the culturally different, or benevolent multiculturalism;
2. Education about cultural differences or cultural understanding;
3. Education for cultural pluralism;
4. Bicultural education. (Gibson, 1977; Young, 1979)

Gibson, dissatisfied with the assumptions and outcomes of each of these approaches, adds a fifth approach which she describes as *Multicultural education as the normal human*

experience (p.15). While she argues convincingly for the latter approach overcoming the conceptual shortcomings of the others it is not clear from her description that the practices arising from her fifth approach would be free of the weakness she and others have identified in the previous four.

Magsino extends and expands the Gibson/Young classification to six categories or Types:

type I. Education for an emergent society;
typeII. Education of the culturally different;
type III. Education for cultural understanding;
type IV. Education for cultural accommodation;
type V. Education for cultural preservation;
type VI. Education for multicultural adaptation.

The main difference with the earlier classification is the addition of a category which makes no special provision for a culturally diverse population (cf Type I). There is also an expansion of the Gibson/Young classification (3) and (4) to clarify the notion of 'cultural pluralism' recognising that this term has no greater prescriptive power as far as education provision is concerned, than multiculturalism.

The following Table is based on, and developed from Magsino's work. It summarises the aims and target group and provides an evaluation of the implications one might expect from the kinds of educational policy identified by Magsino, omitting the details Magsino includes on ideology/assumptions and curricular/pedagogical highlights.

Table A

	Type of Policy Education for :	Aims	Target Group	Evaluation/ Implications
I	An Emergent Society	Unity not diversity; 'melting pot' ideal;	All students	Transitional and/or assimilationist
II	The culturally different	Equal eductional opportunity; enhance performance of the culturally different "deficit model"	The ethnic minorities	Remedial; avoids issues of ethnicity and diversity maybe Assimilationlist or pluralist?
III	Cultural Understanding	Promoting intergroup understanding, for social harmony and tolerance.	All students	No strong endorsement of ethnicity or identity; social cohesion, and stability.
IV	Cultural Accommodation	Preserve and extended diversity; group equality in society; "cultural pluralism"	Primarily for ethnic minorities	Mild "ethnic pluralism"
V	Cultural Preservation	Cultural maintenance tends to be segregationist; "ethnic identity" model.	Ethnic students	Illiberal trend in denying choice; may damage social cohesion.
VI	Multicultural Adaption	Unity in diversisty; transcultural ability; "Cultural pluralism"	All students	Dual or mixed identities; choice; understanding; inter-cultural education.

Classification of Conceptions of Multicultural Education adapted from Magsino, 1985.

And, as will become clear, I differ somewhat from Magsino as to what I see are the purposes and likely implications of Type VI multiculturalism. Magsino himself is at pains to point out that his typology is probably not exhaustive and that 'full implementation of each conception is not commonly found in educational systems' (p.3). Nor would he suggest, I expect, that there is any necessary linearity implied in their use. Nevertheless, when it comes to analysing the Australian multicultural experience it is possible to see some movement over time through a number of the stages he proposes while acknowledging that at any particular time almost inevitably more than one stage will be operating in practice.

What these several theorists have in common is the recognition that cultural diversity in a society in and of itself does not prescribe a particular type of response. The wider social and political system, with its specific value systems and mores generally serves to constrain and underpin the polices advocated; the education practices adopted will reflect wider economic, social and political realities as much as general educational aims and objectives contained within policy guidelines. Analysis of the policies and practices of multicultural education over time within a society and at similar times between societies using the types of frameworks designed by these commentators enables us to see more clearly where multicultural education has come from and more importantly, to consider where it might go in the future.

A final word of caution is perhaps in order here. Any Typology is an artifact of language. It is useful as an heuristic device to assist us with analysis and explanation. Inevitably, however, the reality is much more complex than any Typology can hope to convey.

Defining 'Culture and Education'

Before going on to consider the Australian experience of multicultural education in some detail, I think it is necessary to point out two conceptual areas which Magsino has overlooked but, the absence of which, will contribute to the continuing confusion in the area of multicultural education. As Robyn Brentnall and Alan Hodge rightly point out:-

> One single issue more than any other reduces multicultural rhetoric to meaningless slogans, and that is the so far unsatisfactory search for clear delineation of the meaning of culture in the term 'multicultural education' (1984, p.21)

Part of Gibson's search for an alternative was based on her concern for the lack of a recognition of what culture might mean in 'multicultural education' but few policy documents of curriculum or prescriptions consider it. Brentnall and Hodge summarise the difficulties well:

> Reduced to is simplest, the issue is a straightforward one: part of the rhetoric of multiculturalism has us believe that in a multicultural society, each ethnic group has the right to retain, maintain and transmit its culture ... The real question is the nature of those components of a person's culture that can be maintained and transmitted to one's children after immigration to a new cultural setting (1984, p.22).

Similarly, Poole and Sachs identify the lack of clarity and ambiguity residing in the conceptualisation of 'culture' as a major shortcoming and suggest that "the removal the of silence concerning 'culture' is central to the task of promoting multicultural education along 'social reconstructional lines' (1987 p.27).

This, as we shall see later, has considerable significance when we come to consider the types of policy which have been, and might in the future be, persued in Australia.

Another contested issue frequently overlooked is the definition of 'education'. This can most clearly be brought into focus when we ask 'education for what?' The way in which we answer this question will also have relevance when we peruse Magsino's typology further in the Australian context.

Gibson, from her anthropological perspective sees education as a cultural process and endorses a view espoused by Thomas and Wahrhaftig who

> see education as part of the general human process of socialization whereby young people are prepared to fit successfully into the internal environment of the community of their upbringing and into the external environment within which the total community of human beings of which they are a part (quoted by Gibson, 1977, p.15)

It is this broad notion of education, which considers the educational process as part of the whole community's responsibility taking it beyond the confines of the institution of schooling, that Gibson sees as holding the hope for the future of multicultural education.

The Australian Experience

This review of the Australian experience of multicultural education is based primarily on policy developments which have occurred at the national level and specifically concentrates on the school sector, ignoring those initiatives which have been made at the post-secondary and pre-school level. Developments in these other sectors are not as extensive as in the school sector but these are not included primarily because of time constraints. In addition, it is important to realise that the following discussion focuses on policy rather than practice, with the understanding that the two are not always in consonance with one another.

Since the days of the first white settlers, Australia has been an nation of immigrants. In the language of Hatrz (1964), Australia is an 'anglo fragment' society which has, and continues to be dominated by attitudes, values, social institutions and practices of the British, or more correctly anglo-celtic influences. Before Federation in 1901, the individual colonies of Australia made separate but similar educational provision for their young people though much of it was private and church-based, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. With the coming of Federation education remained the preserve of the States and provision at the State level gained momentum at the expense of the private schools. Funding was initially from the States but since the 1941 Uniform Tax Act has come indirectly from the Commonwealth through State budgets for their Education Departments and directly through Specific Purpose Grants.

The fact that Australia was a British colony brought with it the assumption of a monocultural society based on 'anglo conformity'. The ability to speak and write English as the language of the country mandatory. It was naturally expected that those who came from a non-British stock (as well as the colonised Aboriginal population) would acquire the English language and use it as best they could in all forms of communication.

The only exception to this was the special provision made for German-language schools which began last century. These were in South Australia (and later in some other States) and

established by the German Lutheran communities themselves in an attempt to preserve their language and culture. Interestingly, this first foray into cultural and linguistic pluralism in Australian education was accepted by the wider society and it was only the outbreak of War between England and Germany in 1914, that lead to the closure of these first 'ethnic' schools.

Until the advent of mass immigration in the post World War II period, there were few non-English speaking immigrant groups. Notable exceptions were the early German and Scandinavian settlers and subsequently some limited Southern European immigration, especially of Italians and Greek in the early part of this century. With the exception of the German Lutherans, all other non-English speaking migrants attended Australian schools and had to conform to Australian school practices. This was also true of non-Caucasian migrants such as the Chinese, Indian and Melanesian groups during the 19th Century for whom schooling and education was not a great problem because they did not as a rule (eg. as the Chinese), come as permanent settlers with families and children.

In the years immediately after World War II Australia embarked on a massive immigration programme, and as in earlier years new settlers were sought through various schemes to build up a workforce to meet Australia's growing need for labour, both skilled and unskilled for the expanding manufacturing sector and to populate a country perceived as being unduly short of people. In the search for new settlers first preference was always given to British migrants but when they could no longer meet Australia's needs other European countries, particularly Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia were looked to as a source of labour. Combined with the refugees fleeing from war torn Eastern Europe the number of non-English speaking immigrants rapidly increased.

This put an even greater strain on the nation's educational services already beginning to groan under the impact of the post-War 'baby-boom' but still there was no special recognition of the educational difficulties encountered by children from a non-English speaking background. As in the pre-World War II phase of restricted immigration, non-English speaking migrant's ability to 'succeed' was judged by their ability to speak and read English. English language ability, it was argued by the proponents of this policy, was the guarantee of assimilation into a society which was mono-cultural and steeped in 'anglo-celtic' values and mores; it was to the be 'passport to social betterment' - a hope not always realised because of other structural constraints.

Education, was a key social institution in achieving the long term objectives of this ideology of migrant settlement, steeped in the professed virtues of the doctrine of 'assimilationism'. Schooling was valuable not only for obtaining mastery of the English language but also as an essential part of the newcomers socialization and acculturation process. In brief, the school was important not merely for its credentialing role but also as a socialising agency. There was an assumption that newcomers to Australia would want to assimilate (hence the term 'New Australian') as rapidly as possible and that the way to achieve this was to expose them to the same educational process as the rest of the population.. Just as it was believed that in time there would be no 'Aboriginal problem because they would be 'bred out', so it was believed that in

time (and probably an even shorter time) immigrants would cease to be distinctive groups.

This approach to Multicultural Education as 'Migrant Education' fits clearly into Magsino's Type I Multicultural Education. Here the aim of educational policy is 'To promote elimination of cultural diversity by bringing about a unified, amalgamated society and citezenry' (p.4) - in short, complete assimilation. This very aptly describes the multicultural education policies adopted at this time in Australia, an 'emergent society'.

In 1960 a major national inquiry for the first time began to look into the education of migrant children. This inquiry (the Dovey Report) identified the need to improve the teaching of English to children and their parents as the single most important educational 'problem' concerning migrant children. While in one sense this underlines the official complacency of the time regarding migrants and their welfare, it can, in Magsino's terms be seen as evidence of a slight shift in perception to consider the educational needs of the 'culturally different'. Teachers in their classrooms could have told (and indeed soon did tell) governments that migrant children were not being adequately catered for by teachers who where not trained in TESL but who were nevertheless expected to provide this educational experience alongside all their other commitments. The response to this plea throughout the 60s was to increase the number of specialist ESL teachers, but due to the randomness of Education Departments' staffing policies, as often as not these teachers did not get sent to the schools with high migrant intakes.

The problem seen by governments during this period was one of 'deficit'. It is probably not co-incidental that the 60s was the time of such much publicised programmes as 'Head-Start' in the USA where black children, in particular, were frequently 'diagnosed' as being 'culturally deficient' and cultural enrichment programmes were devised to meet their needs. The educational problems of migrant children in Australia where seen in similar terms but as 'linguistic deficiency'; thus the solution proposed was one of remedying their deficiencies in the English language. This approach locates the 'problems' in the child and their response to the education system, rather than in the system itself. These policies were, quite clearly of the Type II described by Magsino as these were designed 'To equalise opportunities for culturally different students particularly by promoting increased learning and academic success on their part' (p.5). Such 'learning and academic success ' was to be achieved solely through more and better programmes of ESL.

The establishment of the Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP) in 1970-1 following the passage of the *Immigration (Education) Bill* of 1971 signalled the direct entry of the Commonwealth Government into 'Migrant education', albeit through its Immigration powers. Hereafter the Commonwealth Government maintained a key role as a catalyst, through special funding of new educational initiatives. The CMEP became the key to all other Multicultural Education programmes and not just for English language teaching. As well as providing funds for schools it also gave legislative sanction for the Adult Migrant Education Programe (AMEP) specifically aimed at new arrivals and adult migrants. The Commonwealth Government's role was one of continuous involvement from this time until 1986 when it signalled that it wishes to withdraw special funding for ESL at the school level. In doing so it

has tried to divest itself of this responsibility and devolve it on the States.

The concept of 'educational disadvantage', implicit in Magsino's Type II, was markedly evident in a key Education Report in the early 1970's, of the reformist Whitlam Labor Government which was to become a major social document - the Karmel Report on Australian School Education (1973). This Report not only acknowledged the 'Multicultural' nature of Australian society but also reinforced the notion of migrant disadvantage by including high density migrant schools for additional resourcing under the Disadvantaged Schools Programe. Importantly, however, this document also identified migrant education as being directed towards enhancing 'equal life chances for children from all types of social background'. It represented a reconceptualization of the notion of 'equity' in terms of outcomes and not just on equality of opportunity, and thus, in some respects foreshadows Magsino's Type IV policies of 'Education for Cultural Accommodation'.

The first Triennial Report of Commonwealth Schools Commission (1975) went beyond the Karmel Report in its proposals for multicultural education by attempting to bridge the gulf between disadvantage, equity in educational outcomes and the need to give due recognition to the facts of cultural difference, identity and diversity within all segments of the educational system. This notion of 'cultural pluralism' was soon to be redefined and elaborated in distinctly 'cultural' terms following political changes and the advent of the conservative, Liberal/ National Party government of Malcolm Fraser. With the change of government and a new ideology of migrant settlement as 'multiculturalism' emanated from the scholarly writings of people like Zubrzycki and in the Galbally Report of 1978, which was endorse and implemented by the Commonwealth Government. Within the educational sphere, Smolicz stands out as one of the chief exponents of this 'culturalist' approach to Multicultural Education, emphasising the central importance of 'language education', meaning 'home language' of ethnic communities.

Magsino's Type III, IV and V cannot be sharply distinguished as separate Types describing specific periods of Australian multicultural education. Rather, aspects of cultural maintenance and cultural preservation, covered in Types IV and V are evident in the Australian scene in the last decade primarily as a means of enabling ethnic groups to achieve a greater measure of self respect by enhancing ethnic identity and self-esteem. As this also includes 'cultural understanding,' as a broad social and educational goal for the entire community, it reflects a Type III policy approach.

Type III as described by Magsino has as its purpose 'to promote understanding of cultural similarities and differences, to encourage appreciation of different cultures, and finally foster social harmony in a culturally-diverse, non-discriminating society'. The educational philosophy and rationale implicit in this broad type of multicultural education was given expression for the first time in the Karmel Report and other Reports of the Whitlam era, but their implementation in pedagogical terms had to await other political developments and the formal adoption of 'Multiculturalism' as government policy later in the 70s and early 80s.

With the advent of 'multiculturalism' as a marshalling ideology and a principle guiding social policies in the mid-70's, educational policies became more alert and sensitive to demands

from migrant and ethnic groups which throughout the 70s became increasingly vocal in their demands for a more conscious consideration of their needs the educational realm. In practical terms, these pressures were mainly focused on the need for language maintenance programmes, and to a lesser extent on cultural maintenance type programmes. The latter took the form of cultural enrichment awareness and intercultural understanding through teaching about other cultures, especially those from which immigrant were drawn. However, the major emphasis was on ethnic language teaching programmes which were being increasingly identified in the school curriculum as LOTE or Community Languages.

Although the Commonwealth Schools Commission, no doubt influenced by the Karmel Report of 1973, had advocated a notion of 'cultural pluralism' in education and recognized the importance of 'home language' in education, the 'cultural' aspirations and language demands of ethnic minorities were given formal public recognition and endorsement mainly be the Galbally Report of 1978 - a major social policy document in the development of Australian Ethnic Affairs policies. This Report was welcomed by the Fraser Government, and well received by the increasingly powerful ethnic lobby. It soon became the basis for a major redirection of public funds to cater for the development of ethnic affairs policies and programmes, to meet the needs of migrants and ethnic minorities.

The Galbally Report reaffirmed in broad terms, a commitment to multiculturalism, the pursuit of equality of opportunity and stressed even more strongly the acceptance of cultural diversity and the preservation of cultural identity. As these principles and ideas were conceptualized largely in terms of cultural and linguistic issues, this approach to multicultural education is characterised more as a Magsino Type III or IV policy rather than anything more radical as might be supposed at first glance.

The Galbally Report further recommended the allocation of $5 million to multicultural education and the government set up the Schools Commission, the McNamara Committee on Multicultural Education to advise it on the spending of this money. The subsequent Report of this Committee (1979) identified six interrelated elements within the school curriculum as the source of education for a multicultural society; these being (a) general programmes, (b) particular programmes, (c) international and intercultural studies, (d) community languages, (e) English as a Second Language and (f) bilingual education.

While this was a more thorough attempt than most previously made to define the concept of 'multicultural education', the primary emphasis remained on the linguistic and cultural aspects of individual ethnic groups. Much of the criticism that has emerged in recent years of multiculturalism has had as its target this strongly 'culturalist' approach highlighting linguistic maintenance as the basis for preserving cultural and ethnic identity. This type of policy fits in neatly into Magsino's Type V, the purpose of which is 'to enable ethnic groups to protect themselves from alien cultural inroads and maintain their unique identities' (p.8), but overlaps in the Australian policy context with Type IV. As noted previously, the Galbally/McNamara approach seems at times to be of Type VI category, but once it begins to focus on cultural preservation it appears to be more like Type V.

Further evidence however, of the emerging Type V policies and practices during this period comes from the support given by the Fraser government to the establishment of some bilingual education programmes (largely amongst the Aboriginal groups in some States) though nothing like on the scale witnessed in some other countries, particularly USA, Canada and Sweden. The limited support given to 'ethnic' or special schools also falls within this category.

The latter type of schools are basically of two kinds. The first kind, some of which date back to the last century, have been established by various ethnic groups themselves, often with the assistance of a church, and are conducted after general school hours specifically for the purpose of maintaining language and culture in the children of an immigrant group. With the change of ideology about migrants and subsequent policy emphasis in the late 70s they were made eligible for government assistance and this greatly increased their number and viability. The Greek community appear to have been most active in this field (Kringas and Lewins, 1981).

The second kind of ethnic school takes the form of 'insertion classes'. These, though frequently sponsored and supported by ethnic organisations are more often aimed at developing minimal language competence but greater cultural appreciation amongst a whole school population rather than maintaining the cultural identity of any one particular group. They generally take the form of one or more lessons a week by visiting teachers given during the school day as part of the normal school curriculum. Some of their most significant successes have been in schools where the host school teachers have participated as 'pupils' in the programme and have gone on to reinforce learning throughout their teaching. These classes too gained government financial support in the late 70s through the Ethnic Schools Program and have subsequently flourished. The greatest development in this area has been in the teaching of Italian in primary schools (Harris, 1984).

By and large though, language teaching in Australia has remained dominated in the last 10 years by modern languages rather than 'community languages' and there is little to indicate any substantial development in this particular aspect of multicultural education. However, it remains to be seen whether the visionary new National Language Policy (1987) with its broad ranging goals for language development will lead to substantial changes in language teaching for 'cultural maintenance', as anticipated by the ethnic organizations who were in the forefront lobbying for such a national policy.

We do well here to recall the problems alluded to by Brentnall and Hodge (1984) when they voiced their concern about the problems of making decisions about which parts of culture can and/or should be maintained and transmitted. Its emphasis on preservation of cultural and language fails, as many other approaches before have done, to address issues of structural disadvantage so that instead of alleviating the problems faced by ethnic groups the potential exists for accentuating them. This is particularly so if the issues of gender and class are ignored and this has led Marxist and some feminist theorists to be extremely critical of the 'culturalist' model. On the other hand, conservative critics have also attacked this approach because of its inclination to stress diversity rather than similarity, and the potential danger they see in that,

of encouraging separatism rather than unity. Thus, we find the fascinating situation of this approach being under attack by theorists of the right and the left.

To illustrate the fluid, and in some respects rapidly developing, approach to multicultural education in Australia in the last decade, it is useful to consider the Kaldor report of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council entitled simply *Perspectives in Multicultural Education*. This 1981 document, while still highlighting the language dimension, interestingly attempted to interrelate the goals of equity, cultural maintenance and intercultural understanding. This is much closer to my own interpretation of what 'multicultural adaptation' might entail, though it is somewhat broader than what Magsino has described as its purpose, viz, 'To produce individuals who have competencies, and can operate sucessfully in two or more cultures within his/her society' (p. 9). Nevertheless, compatible with Magsino's suggestion of developing individuals who can operate within more than one culture, the Kaldor Report saw bilingualism as the ideal, if unachievable objective, for every Australian child. Barbara Falk sounds a cautionary note of warning when in discussing the place of 'community language' learning, she writes

> Learning about another culture in order to understand it is different from imbibing a culture in order to grow up a member of the group (1985,p.12)

Socio-cultural understanding including cross-cultural competence is a more achievable objective for a well designed programme of inter-cultural education that broadens and enriches one through understanding and respect for the culturally different, than one based on language education.

Recent Developments

In 1984 the National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee on Multicultural Education (NACCME) was established with a mandate to advise the Hon. Minister for Multicultural Education and also to determine effective means of co-ordinating policies and programmes in this area. This Committee, of which I had the privilege to officiate as Chairperson, has released a Report entitled *Education in and for a Multicultural Society: Issues and Strategies for Policy Making*. This Report attempts to sketch a blueprint for the future of Multicultural Education in Australia by developing a rationale described as cultural pluralism in education. As the title of the Report indicates, the policies and practices of Australian Multicultural Education have gravitated between education *in* and *for* a multicultural society (see Jayasuriya 1984). The former is concerned primarily with the educational needs of ethnic minorities and the educability of the culturally different child. The other dimension, education *for* a multicultural society, is distinctly more prescriptive. Being based on multiculturalism as an ideology of settlement, it is more controversial.

The NACCME Report outlines an educational rationale for a broader view of multicultural education based on the notion of cultural pluralism in education, predicated on the commonalties of a democratic society. This is premised on the public acceptance of the existence of cultural diversity and a preparedness to encourage interaction between people from diverse

backgrounds with a view to developing a mutual understanding and an equality of respect. Specifically, it urges the need to reconcile striving for identity and understanding, within a culturally plural society with the need for equity and justice. To this end, a strategy the Report advocates is based on the establishment of a 'common curriculum' which will permit inter-group relations to proceed on the basis of common understandings. In support of this viewpoint, the Report quotes the Australian educationist Crittenden who argues that:

> If we value a society in which diverse ideals of life (and education) may be freely held, we must also be prepared to accept the common ground of meanings, beliefs, values and practices that enable the society both cohere and respect diversity. (quoted in Jayasuriya, 1987, pp 22-23)

A similar viewpoint is also found in Hannan who suggests that the school system in pursuit of 'multicultural education' should communicate common values.

> Tolerance, impartiality, justice, respect, integrity, honesty to name the more obvious values at random are similarly ones both which permit and yet ultimately circumscribe cultural plurality. Indeed as I see it such values if consciously held pursued will resolve the apparently paradox of a common pluralist culture. (1986,p.5).

The crux of this approach is to see that the educational system permits the 'maintenance of a sense of ethnic identity within an overall sense of an Australian identity'. Given a pluralistic conception, the latter allows some choice that individuals may express their own sense of identity without forfeiting their claims to an 'Australian identity'. The long term objective and expectation is that multicultural education policies and programmes, infused by a rational theory of cultural pluralism, ie. a 'justifiable pluralism' (see Crittenden 1982) not necessarily committed to a naive sociological relativism[1], can effectively sustain and maintain cultural diversity without social disintegration.

Conclusion

Poole and Sachs, using the comparative method to advantage, present a challenging overview and critique of Australian multicultural education by contrasting recent Australian experience with current British policy. Contrasting the *policy* perspectives of Australia and Britain, these authors contend that

> At the most general level, the distinction between Australian and British policy can be found in the different emphasis given to race relations and the education of ethnic minorities. On one hand, British has been characterised by race relations, while on the other, Australian policy has been concerned with the recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity. (1987 p.21)

Interestingly, in a manner similar to the conclusions arrived at in the recent NACCME Report on future directions for Australian multicultural education, Poole and Sachs point out that the future of these educational initiatives in both countries depends on how three key issues are translated into policies and practices. These they identity as:

a) How the 'culture' concept is presented in education terms
b) The emphasis placed on racism and combating prejudice and discrimination
c) The issues of achievement and performance in school

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1. See Gellner 1985 for an excellent discussion of this issue.

On the issue of the culture concept, the NACCME Report attempts to move Australian multicultural education away from a predominantly 'culturalist' orientation. It argues that the latter approach has tended to erroneously equate Multiculturalism with Multilingualism thereby espousing a narrow 'cultural maintenance' view. Such a perspective, while it may have been functional to the needs of first generation settlers, seeking identity and respect, may not meet the needs of later generations such as the need for equity and justice. It therefore advocates a broader view of multicultural education by incorporating within the 'cultural' perspective other desirable and necessary elements, in particular, those of equity and understanding.

This more inclusive approach contrasts with the British pre-occupation which a 'race relations' approach, emphasising education as a means of achieving social and attitudinal changes. Incidentally, this approach also shares much in common with the socio-cultural understanding perspective which I believe is widely prevalent in the Canadian scene, though there are exceptions.

The key to the broader approach NACCME has adopted is to be found in the Report's re-conceptualization of the concept of 'culture'. The NACCME Report quoting Williams' defines culture as *a whole and distinctive way of life, a signifying system* goes on to explain that it is culture:

> which informs and sustains all forms of social activity. The signifying system includes specifically cultural activities pertaining to high and folk culture, as well as social activities and practices. Thus, culture is not restricted to only ideas, values and ideology expressed as a world-view. The concept of culture is a dynamic and evolving notion; importantly it needs to be viewed as interacting with the social order through which it is 'communicated, reproduced and experienced and enforced'. Therefore the more complete view of culture is one which contains both instrumental and expressive elements. (1987, p.20)

In this view the culture concept is characterized as embracing value and structural elements such as those of class, power and gender relations in addition to ideational elements. This allows the Report to take note of what Poole calls 'the context of action and power dimensions', 'the dynamics of actor/structure relationships' in defining the concept of culture in multicultural education and avoids the restriction of 'culture' to the value dimension and realm of ideas. It is this systematic orientation which enables the NACCME Report to straddle meaningfully and concurrently the issues of equity, understanding and identity in what it calls 'equitable multiculturalism'. The latter, the Report states, goes beyond the mere acknowledgement of difference and cultural diversity by providing students with tools of social literacy for broader engagement with cultures, cultural analysis and mainstream participation'. (Jayasuriya, 1987)

As regards the second key issue, the NACCME Report avoids what Poole and Sachs call the 'silence' on issues of racism by acknowledging structural determinants of racism and by giving due recognition to inter-cultural education as a means of challenging and countering racism. In arguing for this as an objective, the Report is cognisant of Basil Bernstein's (1970) timely warning that education as a social institution cannot by itself 'compensate for society'. The point to be made is that 'silence' on racism so far experienced needs to be corrected but

handled with judgment and discretion lest the 'silence' given to racial issues unduly exaggerates and exacerbates racial and ethnic tensions and conflict.

Finally, a significant difference between the British and Australian perspectives on multicultural education, markedly evident in the Swann Report relates to the third issue, viz. that of school achievement and performance of ethnic minority children. NACCME has in the Australian context, signalled this as an issue warranting closer examination and review, if multicultural education is to be translated into 'life chances' and worthwhile labour market options for all children.

Regrettably, as far as Australia is concerned the nature and extent of educational disadvantage affecting ethnic minorities cannot, as Sturman (1985) rightly observes, be determined from the available data relating to the relative achievement and performance of ethnic minorities as compared with other groups.

An important key issue arising from a survey of the comparative literature is the question of the target groups to which multicultural educational policies are to be directed. Perhaps, more attention should be focused on the question of orientation and direction of multicultural education policies. Should they be seen as minority education policies or do they form part of general educational plans and services for *all* students, I suspect that this will emerge as a controversial and hotly contested issue in the future. The relative emphasis and weighting in terms of public policy between multiculturalism as education for *all* and minority education programmes will be resolved in the context of multiculturalism and as its attendant social policies are conceptualized in the foreseeable future and developed in the political arena.

I personally believe that as Australian multicultural education in the sense of 'education for all' becomes more readily accepted and incorporated within schemes of mainstream educational programming, issues of 'minority education' such as minority disadvantage, participation and performance in the educational sphere will become the major focus of multicultural education policies.

Certainly, the debate on multicultural education in Australia is far from over. Castles (1987) and I have independently argued that the uncontested nature of multicultural policies of the last decade is now over, and that there is evidence that change is taking place, not all of which, Castles is keen to point out is negative (1987, p.2). Castles, like myself sees the situation now as one of addressing the concerns of 'second generation' migrants which not so much focused on the issues of retaining ethnic identity, but more on those of acquiring access to the power and societal benefits which in many instances still seem to predominantly the preserve of white, anglo, mainstream Australians.

The NACCME Report (1987) concludes its review on multicultural education as follows:

> Australia has within a short space of a little more than a decade, achieved an impressive and successful development of educational policies and practices known as multicultural education ... [while] there are neglected areas of policy and practice ... the record of development is considerable.

Just what these 'neglected' policies and practices should be have tentatively been explored by the NACCME Report, but the test will come in the schools and schools systems around Australia. Meanwhile if Australia continues to have a significant migrant and refugee intake annually, much remains to be done to assist mainstream Australia to understand and accept these settlers, in particular the largely non-Caucasian nature of this new part of its population.

It may be, that as more attempts have been made to translate the rhetoric of policy into the reality of day-to-day practice, the potential conflicts and difficulties that were always there have simply become clearer. Of course, it is easy with the benefit of hindsight to see the conceptual inadequacies of earlier formulations, and be critical of those who did not foresee them, but we can also appreciate that there has been development and growth in Australia's policies for its ethnically diverse population. An attempt to understand and grapple with the issues raised by such developments is of benefit to all of those who see multiculturalism as an ideal and work towards making it an achievable aim for everyone in our type of societies.

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